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TRADE UNION PLENUM HELD, CONGRESS DATE SET

AU291853 Sofia BTA in English 1759 GMT 29 Dec 86

[Text] Sofia, December 29 (BTA) -- The Tenth Congress of the Bulgarian Trade Unions will be held on April 7, 1987; this was decided today at the 12th plenary session of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

The plenary session discussed the most actual tasks of the trade unions - the consistent realization of self-management in the work team, the new responsibilites ensuing from the coming into force of the new Labour Code and the implementation of the plan for 1987. These tasks outline the form and content of the pre-congress work, Mr. Petur Dyulgerov, chairman of the Central Committee [as received] of the Bulgarian Trade Unions and alternate member of the Politburo of the CC of the BCP pointed out in his report.

The plenary session adopted a declaration which voices the great alarm and concern of the Bulgarian working people over the irresponsible acts of the U.S. Government aggravating the international situation. Mr. Iliya Vulkov was elected secretary of the Central Council of the Bulgarian Trade Unions.

SEVENTH JOURNALISTS UNION CONGRESS CONVENES

AU181755 Sofia BTA in English 1138 GMT 18 Dec 86

[Text] Sofia, December 18 (BTA) -- The 7th Congress of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists, which started here today, proposed the calling of a conference of the journalists of the Balkan countries in Sofia. The idea of calling this meeting was presented in the report of the union's chairman Mr Boyan Traykov, director general of the BTA. The initiative results from the main task which Bulgarian journalists have set for themselves: to work for the strengthening of good-neighbor relations and cooperation in the Balkans, and for the involvement of the international situation in the name of peace.

The role of Bulgarian journalists is to bring the truth to every man. Everybody must know and realize the fact that nuclear disarmament is a question of life and death for mankind and civilization. Everyone must know this truth and must not permit himself to be deceived by the star machinations which aim only at changing the place of the deadly threat, stressed Mr. Boyan Traykov. He and the other delegates who took the floor pointed out as an important task standing before the Bulgarian journalists their work on the establishing of such a movement in the Balkans which will persuade every citizen of this region to aspire to good-neighbourly relations and cooperation, and to assist in the turning of the peninsula into a friendly and peaceful part of the world. In the propagation of the idea for the turning the Balkans into a zone free of chemical and nuclear weapons, into a region of ecological cooperation, the Bulargian journalists see an important sphere of their activity.

The Union of Bulgarian Journalists takes into consideration the complicated international situation and will enhance its international activity. This activity, as it was pointed out in the speech of the chairman of the union, must be in the spirit of the cardinal world problem of peace, must assist the security and cooperation in the Balkans, and must support the peace mission of socialism. In all its international contacts, in participating in the international conferences and in the international organization of journalists, the Union of Bulgarian Journalists will popularize and consolidate the conception of new information strategy and tactics, of the new information order.

The proposal for the calling of a Balkan conference of journalists is closely linked with the fulfillment of the tasks outlined by the delegates. "On behalf of the Bulgarian Union of Journalists, I call on the journalists of all Balkan states to come and meet in Sofia, the geographical center of the peninsula. Let us try to agree that nuclear and chemical disarmament is the first and most pressing problem of peaceful coexistence in the Balkans. Let us discuss together how to mobilize public opinion in the Balkans in order to fulfill the aim to turn this part of the world into a peninsula of confidence and cooperation," said Mr Boyan Traykov.

The international activities of the union were further acknowledged in the greetings address of the International Organisation of Journalists (I.O.J.), delivered by Mr Ernesto Concepcion, I.O.J. secretary. He recalled the 10th I.O.J. Congress recently held in Bulgarian capital and laid emphasis on the Bulgarian journalists' work for propagandizing the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries, which match the interests of all peoples.

Both the report and the statement outlined the need for professional renovation of Bulgarian journalism. Its aim is to turn the mass communication media into a factor stimulating an accelerated economic growth in line with the latest techno-scientific advances and encouraging the innovative and positive tendencies in social life. The attainment of this goal depends on securing of prompt and full information on all events and processes in the country and on a sincere dialogue on equal terms with the public. In view of these tasks, the congress discussed journalists' qualification and the state of university studies in journalism, the technological retooling of the news agencies, the newspapers' editorial offices, the radio and tv stations, and the opportunities for building a more rational structure of the media. The Union of Bulgarian Journalists will complete its seventh congress tomorrow, December 19.

Meeting Ends, Traykov Reelected

AU191516 Sofia BTA in English 1347 GMT 19 Dec 86

[Excerpts] Sofia, December 19 (BTA) -- The Seventh Congress of the Bulgarian Journalists mapped out the main trends of the future work of the union. The union's leadership, the union's sections and units at the news agencies, newspapers, the radio and the television will strive to direct the professional work of the journalists to the most important processes taking place in this country -- technological innovation in all spheres and democratization of management. The journalists see their main task in the formation of a climate of social activity.

Today's final session revealed facts showing the growing role of the mass media in social and political life. Hence the great responsibility of the journalist for raising his qualification and professional skills and hence the task of the Union of Bulgarian Journalists to raise the qualification of the journalists. The session also quoted data of the sociopolitical inquiry which show that the Bulgarian journalists hold in the highest esteem professionalism, civil courage and their own creative style. 80 percent of those polled are satisfied with their profession in spite of the fact that it leaves them little free time and in spite of the face that the data of the same inquiry shows that only 47 percent of those polled are enjoying good health and 65 percent think that the prestige of their profession is insufficient.

Mass media and society, the journalist and the public -- these interrelations were subjected to analysis in most of the statements. One of them proposed the working out of a Bulgarian journalist's code. [passage omitted]

A new leadership of the union was elected today. Its chairman is Boyan Traykov, director general of the BTA.

Zhivkov Receives Delegates

AU192016 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 2000 GMT 19 Dec 86

[Text] A meeting of the BCP Central Committee Secretariat with functionaries from the Bulgarian Journalists Union took place at the Boyana residence tonight.

Boyan Traykov, chairman of the union and director general of BTA, briefed the BCP Central Committee Secretariat on the work of the Seventh Congress of Bulgarian Journalists Union that ended today and on its decisions, which include the implementation of the tasks set by the 13th BCP Congress.

Comrade Todor Zhivkov delivered a speech. He greeted the newly elected leadership of the Bulgarian Journalists Union and wished them new successes in their work and in implementing the party instructions. Comrade Todor Zhivkov stressed the most important strategic problems of scientific-technical revolution and the necessity for a qualitatively new development which the mass media and all Bulgarian journalists are facing today. The meeting proceeded in a warm, comradely atmosphere.

TANJUG: CLAIMS ON GRUEV BELIE OFFICIAL LINE

LD242354 Belgrade TANJUG in English 2237 GMT 24 Dec 86

[Text] Sofia, December 24 (TANJUG) -- The 80th anniversary of the death of Dame Gruev, a distinguished champion of the Macedonian national-liberation struggle, was marked today in the central Bulgarian press and by a number of commemorative meetings. Here, however, Gruev was proclaimed a "Great Bulgarian," and the anniversary of his death was taken in Sofia as an occasion to repeat claims to Macedonian history and struggle for national, political and cultural freedom.

As one of the most prominent activists of the Inner Macedonian Revolutionary Organization (VMRO) and active participant of the Macedonian people's Ilinden uprising against the Ottoman Empire (1903), Dame Gruev is wrongfully claimed to be a Bulgarian and the Ilinden epic of the Macedonians falsely proclaimed, for who knows how many times, a "great event in history of the Bulgarian people."

One of the meetings commemorating Dame Gruev -- the "great son of the Bulgarian people," as the Bulgarian daily NARODNA ARMIYA called him -- was a symposium jointly organized at Balagoevgrad (a town near Bulgaria's border with the Yugoslav republic of Macedonia) by the Bulgarian Fatherland Front and the Bulgarian Academy of Sciences.

The laying of claims to the great Macedonian revolutionary and to history of the Macedonian people runs contrary to Sofia's official declarations in favour of peace, understanding and development of goodneighbourly relations among countries and peoples in the Balkans.

COUNCIL OF MINISTERS REPRIMANDS FOOD MANAGERS

AU122106 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 12 Dec 86

[Text] The Bureau of the Council of Ministers, the Economic (?Council), the chairmen of the executive committees of the okrug people's councils, and the leaders of economic trusts made an assessment of the satisfactory supply of basic food products to the population during this year and of the preparations for the supply of food and vegetables in the coming year.

The Bureau of the Council of Ministers drew the attention of the chairmen of the executive committees of the okrug people's councils of Veliko Turnovo, Vidin, Lovech, Mikhaylovgrad, Razgrad, Sliven, Tolbukhin, and Turgovishte Okrugs to the fact that they had failed to fulfill the deliveries of meat to the centralized stores [fondove], and of the chairman of the Pleven Okrug People's Council to the failure to ensure milk supplies.

The Bureau of the Council of Ministers issued a severe reprimand for permitting a lagging behind in ensuring the agreed upon supplies of early vegetables for next year to Konstantin (?Plyamov), chairman of the Bulgarplod Economic Enterprise, and issued a reprimand on the same grounds to Slavcho Pandaliev, deputy chairman of the Executive Committee of the Okrug Poeple's Council and chairman of the Okrug Agroindustrial Union in Pazardzhik Okrug, and to Asen Atanasov, holding the same positions in Pernik Okrug.

The Committee for State and People's Control was ordered to carry out systematic checks on the execution of these tasks.

PLANNERS CONFER ON QUAKE RESTORATION MEASURES

AU232042 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Text] At a national conference and seminar organized by the Bulgarian Project Planning Association, the leaders of project-planning and designing units from throughout the country received concrete instructions connected with the accelerated planning and completion of the restoration work in the regions affected by the earthquake of 7 December.

The territorial project-planning organizations, designers, and architects, who will draw up the projects for the restoration work, were given lists of the more important damaged industrial building installations, public buildings and structures, and apartment blocks. The investors and builders were given concrete information on the deadlines within which the project designs have to be completed.

Professor Nikola Ignatev made a detailed analysis and assessment of the damage caused by the earthquake, pointed out the errors which had been committed, and gave instructions on how the repair and restoration work should be completed. Detailed explanations were given on applying the norms for the design of buildings and structures in earthquake-prone regions and on utilizing the new map showing the seismic divisions of the country.

JOINT NEWS CONFERENCE WITH USSR FOREIGN MINISTRY

AU292043 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Dec 86 p 8

[Report on news conference in Sofia on 23 December given by Maxim Kardzhov, chief of the Press Department of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate and spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR: "There Is Only One Direction -- Toward a Nuclear-Free World, a World of Peace"]

[Excerpts] The expiring year of 1986 was an alarming one. The degree of tension in international relations did not significantly fall and armed conflicts continued to take many people's lives to different parts of the planet. In this situation, the peaceful foreign-policy initiatives of the USSR, Bulgaria, and the other countries of the socialist community gave hope. This was once more confirmed at yesterday's news conference in Sofia, at which Maksim Karadzhov, chief of the Press Department of the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Boris Pyadyshev, first deputy chief of the Information Directorate and spokesman of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, replied to journalists' questions. [passage omitted]

At the news conference concrete examples were also mentioned of the contribution which Bulgaria is making to reducing international tension and consolidating peaceful coexistence in a nuclear-arms-free world. In this direction, our country's actions in the Balkans are especially apparent in the turning of the Balkan peninsula into a nuclear and chemical weapons-free zone, strengthening good-neighborliness and understanding, and expanding cooperation. [passage omitted]

USSR, HUGARY SIGN TRADE AGREEMENTS

AU292045 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 24 Dec 86 p 2

[Krasimir Tsigularov report on signing of agreements between the Intransmash Bulgarian-Hungarian Association and the Soviet Avtopromimport Foreign Trade Association, with statement by Engineer Todor Mutarov, general director of Intransmash: "Prospects for Cooperation"]

[Excerpt] The contracts signed between the Intransmash Bulgarian-Hungarian Association and the Soviet Avtopromimport Foreign Trade Association form the start of a qualitatively new stage of cooperation in the field of integrated automation.

Yesterday a package of seven agreements was signed in Sofia between the Intransmash Bulgarian-Hungarian Association and the Soviet Avtopromimport Foreign Trade Association. The package includes complete deliveries of automated warehouse systems and automated transportation-warehouse systems to a value of almost 29 million convertible leva.

The cooperation of Intransmash with Soviet ministries has strong traditions. During the last 10 years alone, 52 automated warehouses have been commissioned, the majority of them in the vehicle-building industry. At the moment, new developments are in progress, some of which are unique in their technical conception. The long-term intergovernmental agreements provide for Intransmash's exports to the USSR to increase 2.5-fold by the end of the 5-year-plan period. What are the paths for solving the task that has been set?

Engineer Todor Mutarov, general director of Intransmash, stated as follows: "The agreements signed form a qualitatively new stage in the joint work, into which other enterprises are also being drawn. This is a good start toward the practical achievement of the tasks facing us. The automated warehouse systems are directly related to the intensification of production; they are the first and main condition for it. They create the required flexibility, permit speedy rearrangement, and save manual labor. On the other hand, they also have an effect on the prime cost of production. These are the two directions in which great social effect is manifested." [passage omitted]

ZHIVKOV, ATANASOV SEND AFGHAN LEADERS TELEGRAM

AU231132 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 22 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] Todor Zhivkov, general secretary of the BCP Central Committee and chairman of the State Council, and Georgi Atanasov, chairman of the Council of Ministers, have sent the following telegram to Najibullah, general secretary of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Central Committee, and to Soltan Ali Keshtmand, prime minister of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan:

Dear comrades, on behalf of the BCP Central Committee, the State Council of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and the Council of Ministers of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, and on behalf of the entire Bulgarian people, we convey to the Central committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, to the Revolutionary Council, and to the Council of Ministers of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, as well as to the people of Afghanistan, our most sincere congratulations on the occasion of the fifth anniversary of the signing of a Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The years that have elapsed have confirmed that the Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between our two countries represents a solid basis for the ascending development of the relations of fraternal solidarity and comprehensive cooperation between our two parties and countries, and that these relations and cooperation between the BCP and the People's Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, between the People's Republic of Bulgaria and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan, and between the sociopolitical and mass organizations in both countries continue to strengthen and intensify for the sake of Bulgarian-Afghan friendship, in the interests of peace, democracy, and social progress throughout the world.

Dear comrades, we wish the friendly people of Afghanistan, and you personally, new successes in your struggle for the defense of the country's independence and sovereignty, for a peaceful settlement of the situation around Afghanistan, and in building your new life.

FAKING, MANIPULATING ECONOMIC RESULTS CRITICIZED

AU300851 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 27 Dec 86 p 1

[Editorial: "Without Falsification and Manipulations"]

[Text] In a recent RUDE PRAVO Saturday supplement we gave the workers and technicians of the railroad construction enterprise in Prague an opportunity to speak. The example of their own collective made them ponder with indignation the morality of people who are distorting economic results so as to make it possible to pay out bonuses on the basis of plan "fulfillment" achieved in this manner. Let us recollect that several executives in the enterprise -- headed by Engineer Vladislav Skvrna, former enterprise director -- were recalled from their functions. The workers and technicians taking part in the discussion not only sharply condemned the practices of falsifying work results, but simultaneously and unanimously agreed that such acts cannot be committed without consequence. It is the duty of both the supervisory agencies, and of the party organization and all honest workers to see to that.

This year the CSSR People's Control Commission checked 80 organizations on how well they are ensuring correct report-sheets on plan fulfillment, in keeping with the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's letter on deepening efficiency in the struggle against violations of the principles of socialist legality, morality, and discipline. In 50 percent (!) of the investigated organizations the CSSR's Peoples Control Committee found distortions, falsifications, and untruthful reporting on achieved results. As a rule, these manipulations had a prosaic, deliberate background: In this illegal manner a certain executive staff ensured for itself the bonuses and remunerations which may be paid out solely to those organizations which are fulfilling all qualitative indexes of the plan.

Strict measures were, are, and will be taken with regard to the functionaries responsible for all the ascertained violations -- up to handing the case over to criminal investigation agencies, and up to removing people from their posts.

Let us cite a specific example from the report of the CSSR People's Control Commission mentioned above: Toward the end of last year, the Trnava Automobile Plant (enterprise director Engineer Michal Rabek) issued bills for deliveries of cars, engines, car bodies, and spare parts to the tune of Kcs 15.6 million, although their production was not complete until January and February, in the case of engines not until even later. It is staggering that such consumers as the Mototechna plant in Mlada Boleslav, the Aviva plant in Ivancice, the pipe rolling mills and iron plants in Chomutov, the North Slovak Forest Enterprise in Zilina, and others confirmed the deliveries in writing although the invoiced goods did not even exist at that monument. In this way, they enabled the executive staff of the Trnava plant to receive up to Kcs 375,000 in bonuses and remunerations on the basis of falsified papers.

Another example: The enterprising staff of an enterprise included among last year's results the receipts from the beginning of 1986, thus establishing conditions for the payment of bonuses and annual remunerations to the tune of more than Kcs 76,000.

One of the indexes affecting the evaluation of economic results is the inventory of stocks. Both a check of results and the knowledge gained by the Czechoslovak State Bank show that stocks worth Kcs 6 to 10 billion (!) are regularly "lost" toward the end of each quarter of the year, only to "reappear" already in the first month of the following quarter. Even though the stocks remain immobile and their sales are a fiction, this suffices for paying out unjustified remunerations to the sales and supplies staff.

False data also abound in the reports on their investment projects issued by organizations supplying construction and assembly work; frequently this takes place with the benevolent approval of the consumer. A number of instances have been found in which a premature invoice was issued last year even on projects where the final work continued this year.

Prices which do not correspond to the quality of work and of deliveries are also being misused for unjustified plan fulfillments according to set qualitative indexes. A certain construction enterprise in Prague delivered to its customers a concrete mixture of inferior quality, while billing them for superior quality; in this way, the enterprise acquired unjustified income totaling more than Kcs 5 million. Other enterprises acted in similar ways; and the responsible staff cashed in bonuses for production quality.

Other, similarly dangerous and reprehensible forms of perpetrating felonies are literally being invented from mercenary motives: For instance, in keeping excessive financial reserves for settling claims and substracting them from costs even prior to the expiration of the term of guarantee; this represents an unjustified enhancement of profit and of remuneration claims.

One cannot doubt that all organizations are familiar with the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium's letter of February 1983, which explicitly charged us to prosecute [postihovat] consistently even such antisocial phenomena as "unjustified income in cases where the remuneration does not correspond to the quality and quantity of achieved work, where unsubstantiated plan amendments are carried out, or where plan fulfillments are incorrectly reported in order to establish, by diverse manipulations, the conditions needed for paying out bonuses, remunerations, and shares."

It is imperative to put an end to all manifestations of illegality, irresponsibility, and insufficiently demanding attitude in economic management. It is supremely urgent to have our party, state, and economic agencies wage an uncompromising, resolute, and unappeasable fight against these pheonomena. It is essential to call strictly to account in accordance with party policy -- and to disciplinary and even criminal liability -- all those who distort plan fulfillment and economic results or tolerate such activity. At the same time we must consistently require the responsible economic staffs to return the bonuses and remunerations which they had unjustly received. Those consumers and investors who have aided such activity must also be called to account. However, at the same time consequences from shortcomings in management, plan fulfillment control, and economic activity must also be drawn with regard to supervisory agencies.

Nobody has the right to cover up the true state of affairs or to tolerate antisocial activity. In apparising such a person -- regardless of who he is and what function he holds -- we must apply a single criterion and adhere to a single morality: The laws governing the economy of a socialist state.

Endeavors to distort economic results and to acquire unjustified incomes to the detriment of the society must not evade the attention of party agencies and organizations, either. In their political and ideological work they must act against such endeavors; they must strengthen party discipline and responsibility. If the persons involved are party members, a party investigation must be initiated against the culprits in serious instances, and consequences must be drawn up to the culprits' expulsion from the party. Executive staff members who are guilty of falsifying data on plan fulfillment and on economic results lose the moral right to lead the collectives entrusted to them and must not be entrusted with any other executive function, either.

The successful realization of the program of accelerating economic and social development, formulated by the party's 17th congress, depends not only on creative activity and work, but also on a high discipline and responsibility of all guiding agencies and working people. Most enterprises and organizations are honorably and honestly striving to accomplish the exacting tasks anchored in the Eighth 5-Year Plan. Their executive staffs are frankly and critically appraising the weaknesses and shortcomings of their collectives and actively searching for ways to overcome the weaknesses; and on this basis they are achieving positive results.

The CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and the Federal Government have acquainted themselves with the check undertaken by the CSSR Peoples's Control Commission mentioned above; they expressed full support for the Committee's course of procedure and expressed agreement with the Committee's conclusions. At the same time, they expressed the conviction that all organizations and enterprises, all state and party agencies, will embark on an effort to prevent such antisocial phenomena and to carry out the evaluation of the plan for the first year of the new 5-year plan on the basis of verified truthful economic results.

HAJN ADDRESSES SEMINAR ON PARTY CONTROL

AU171127 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 10 Dec 86 pp 1, 2

["(PZ)"-signed report: "The Main Thing Is To Set Right Shortcomings and Change the Situation for the Better; Seminar of Chairmen of CPCZ Control and Auditing Commissions"]

[Text] Prague -- A 2-day seminar of the chairmen of regional, district, and enterprise party control and auditing commissions opened in Prague on 9 December. The purpose of the seminar is to assess how the tasks that arise for the work of the commissions from the conclusions of the 17th party congress and the Fourth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee are being ensured. The opening report was delivered by Jaroslav Hajn, chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission.

He stressed that the struggle to assert the line of the 17th CPCZ Congress aimed at accelerating socioeconomic development has become the main content of the activity of CPCZ Control and auditing commissions. We subordinate to this the style and the methods of our work. We also deduce from this criteria for the evaluation of the results achieved by agencies and organizations in implementing the resolutions of the congress and individual sessions of the CPCZ Central Committee.

The findings of our checks -- for example those carried out at the CSSR Ministry of General Engineering and the CSSR Ministry of Electrical Engineering -- show that the conclusions of the congress about the need for a faster growth in the national economic performance on the basis of a comprehensive assimilation of scientific and technological knowhow are not being translated into life with sufficient vigor. It is a grave shortcoming that there have been no cuts in the time needed to resolve the tasks of technical development in individual enterprises and plants. Neither are we succeeding in making sure that the technical solutions produced in this way are always on a par with current world standards. The result is the weakening of the position of our industry on foreign markets. Our citizens, too, then rightly criticize the unsatisfactory technical standard of the final products of these two sectors. The two ministries adopted remedial measures on the basis of the results of our checks.

The chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission went on to say that this year CPCZ control and auditing commissions have also carried out a check to ascertain how nationally administered senior officials who are party members, party organizations in national committees and in organizatons, and production and housing cooperatives are enacting the conclusions of the 17th CPCZ Congress and the Sixth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee with an eye toward the further expansion and improvement of paid services for the population. On the basis of many examples, he said, we once again verified that the standard of services does not correspond to the needs of our citizens, that their improvement is slow, and that their development is highly irregular.

The commissions have recommended to the relevant overseeing party agencies the adoption of appropriate remedial measures with regard to all detected shortcomings.

We devote constant attention in our work to the implementation of the contents of the letter of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium on deepening the effectiveness of the struggle against violations of the principles of socialist legality, ethics, and discipline. In our opinion, Jaroslav Hajn went on to say, the largest number of negative features occurs in the areas of the economy, trade, and services. There are still many instances of mismanagement, poor protection of socialist property, enrichment at the expense of society, unearned income, stealing, misuse of one's official rank, shoddy workmanship, and parasitism. The worst thing about this is that, directly or indirectly, even some ranking managers have their share in the causes of the emergence of these shortcomings. Some senior officials do not even discharge their duty to report violations of legality. There are attempts to settle punishable offenses in the so-called internal way or even to cover them and thus excuse antisocial conduct or protect it against public criticism and punishment.

We have verified, Jaroslav Hajn said, that the internal control system in industrial and agricultural plants, in service organizaions, and so forth does not exert sufficient influence on the removal of negative phenomena. In many instances, internal control does not function as an agency that commands authority. Some managers simply do not regard control as an integral part of their activity. Party agencies and organizations must draw the appropriate conclusions along party lines from these and similar experiences. They must call to account those who violate party statutes and the laws of the socialist state. Any lenience in this respect is impermissible because it undermines the authority of the party as a whole.

The chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission further drew attention to the fact that the responsible processing of the suggestions, comments, and complaints of the working people constitutes and important aspect of the activity of control and auditing commissions. The party holds in great esteem citizens who refuse to become reconciled to diverse manifestations of superficiality and formalism in implementing party resolutions and demand that matters be set right. The numerous letters that we receive on these issues demonstrate that verbally some senior officials acknowledge the need to remove negative features from our life, but that their practical actions are diametrically opposed to this. These phenomena occur in their most acute form where selfish personal interests win the upper hand, where there is a lack of consistent control, and where suitable political conditions have not been created for criticism and self-criticism.

The party organizations' right of control, vis-a-vis the economic management, is an important instrument of reinforcing the party's influence on processes taking place in production and management. Our experience shows that some primary organizations use this right only nominally and inconsistently. Even functionaries frequently do not comprehend that this is a form of exerting political control, by means of which we must not only cure the diseases of the economic organism, but forestall them in a consistent and competent manner.

Jaroslav Hajn emphasized that the right of control is also an effective tool in combatting bureaucratism and other malpractices. It plays an important role in the education of cadres because it helps enhance responsibility for the successful implementation of party resolutions. In implementing the right of control it must not be forgotten that party organizations and the plant managements share the same goal -- to achieve the fulfillment of the conclusions of the congress. However, their means of achieving this goal differ. Party organizations must on no account take over the duties and responsibility of economic and state agencies. They should neither replace nor represent them, let alone make decisions in place of them.

The aim of the checks carried out by our commissions is to set right shortcomings and change the situation for the better. However, we must not fail to draw conclusions along party lies from gross and recurrent infringements of the statutes. We must not ignore nonadherence to the party line approved by the 17th CPCZ Congress. If the individual concerned does not demonstrate sufficient good will, he must then be called to account along party lines, regardless of his rank and function. It is necessary to insure that our findings and remedial measures become the subject of deliberations by the primary party organization's highest organ -- its members meeting.

Concluding, the chairman of the CPCZ Central Control and Auditing Commission stressed that the decisive criterion in the work of CPCZ control and auditing commissions is not the number of checks and audits but their quality, that it is their effective assistance to a more consistent implementation of the party's policy as it was formulated by Comrade Gustav Husak at the Fourth Session of the CPCZ Central Committee. The attainment of the goals set out by the congress will be up to all party agencies and organizations and every party member and candidate member, regardless of the nature of his work and his function. The politically committed activity of control and auditing commissions at all levels of the party hierarchy must contribute its share to this.

In the subsequent debate, the participants in the seminar spoke about findings yielded by the commissions' work. They stressed the need to continuously enhance the effectivenes of party control and to improve its forms and methods. The seminar continues on 10 December.

COLOTKA SPEAKS AT SLOVAK TRADE UNION SESSION

LD160058 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 2030 GMT 15 Dec 86

[Text] The contribution of the trade unions to the fulfillment of plans, safeguarding investment projects construction, and holidays organized by the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement was analyzed in Bratislava today by the 17th plenary session of the Slovak Council of Trade Unions.

Peter Colotka, Presidium member of the Central Committee of the CPCZ and Slovak premier, spoke in a discussion about the joint effort of the state, economic, and trade union bodies to overcome shortcomings and secure the growth of the standard of living and strengthen the social security of the people. He underlined the important role of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement in assessing socialist production relations, increasing the participation in state management and administration, and strengthening discipline. He also pointed to reserves in utilizing production funds, working time, fuel, and material consumption and analyzed in detail the need for structural changes in the national economy. In conclusion, Comrade Peter Colotka praised the initiative of wide groups of working people and spoke about the urgent task to expand it further. He mentioned in this connection the significance of the Brigades of Socialist Labor and other forms of work initiatives organized by trade unionists.

MISSION 'STRONGLY' DECRIES FRG CITIZENSHIP POLICY

LD291903 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1800 GMT 29 Dec 86

[Text] The GDR Permanent Mission in the FRG has strongly protested to the Federal chancellery because the citizenship of GDR diplomats active in the FRG is once again being disregarded by officials in a presumptuous manner and in contr. ention of international law.

Thus, in recent days (Hans Ehrken), director of the office for Statistics and Residents Affairs in Bonn, has appeared in public statements to the effect that he and his office regard GDR diplomats as Germans as defined by the FRG Constitution, and thus that FRG laws are applicable to them. The GDR Permanent Mission in the FRG has demanded that the FRG organs unreservedly respect GDR citizenship.

HONECKER, STOPH GREET CASTRO ON REELECTION

LD291144 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service in German 1100 GMT 29 Dec 86

[Text] Erich Honecker and Willi Stoph have congratulated Fidel Castro, first secretary of the Central Committee of the Cuban Communist Party, on his reelection as chairman of the Council of State and Council of Ministers. In their telegram they wish him new successes in his responsible work and creative power. The general secretary of the SED Central Committee and Council of State chairman and the chairman of the GDR Council of Ministers link this to the conviction that the friendship and fraternal alliance between the two peoples will continue to deepen in the future.

HONECKER GREETS NETHERLANDS CP CHAIRWOMAN

AU292102 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ND) -- Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee, sent the following congratulatory telegram to Elli Iseboud, chairwoman of the Netherlands Communist Party:

Esteemed Comrade Elli Iseboud:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf I convey to you cordial congratulations on your reelection as chairwoman of the Netherlands Communist Party.

We wish you much success, good health, and creative energy for your responsible work.

With Communist greetings,

SED Central Committee

E. Honecker

General secretary.

SED CC MESSAGE TO SENEGALESE LD-MPT CONGRESS

AU292101 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 27-28 Dec 86 p 1

[Text] East Berlin (ND) -- The SED Central Committee sent the following greetings message, signed by General Secretary Erich Honecker, to the delegates of the Second Ordinary Party Congress of the Democratic League-Labor Party Movement [LD-MPT] in Dakar:

Esteemed Comrades:

On behalf of the SED Central Committee and on my own behalf I convey cordial greetings to the delegates of the Second Ordinary LD-MPT Congress.

We are convinced that your party congress will give new stimuli to the struggle of the Senegalese people for national and social liberation, for peace and disarmament, against the danger to mankind posed by the militarization of space. We welcome the LD-MPT's solidary attitude toward the struggle of the peoples in southern Africa, against imperialism, neocolonialism, and apartheid.

The SED Central Committee wishes the Second Ordinary LD-MPT Congress success in implementing the resolutions passed there.

SED Central Committee
E. Honecker
General secretary.

BRIEFS

TRADE WITH AFGHANISTAN -- On 18 December the protocol on commodity exchanges for 1987 between the GDR and the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan was signed in Berlin. It envisages an expansion of trade between the two countries. The GDR will mainly supply electrotechnical equipment and photochemical, pharmaceutical, and chemical household products and, in turn, will purchase dried fruit and other produce. The signing took place in the presence of Dr Kurt Frenske, state secretary and first deputy minister of foreign trade, and Abdul Wahed Baba Jan, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan to the GDR. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Dec 86 p 2 AU]

WORK PLAN WITH DPRK -- On 17 December Dr Herbert Krolikowski, state secretary and first deputy GDR minister of foreign affairs, and Pak Jong-chan, DPRK ambassador to the GDR, signed in Berlin the work plan between the governments of the GDR and DPRK for cultural and scientific collaboration in the years 1987-90. The plan envisages the deepening and development of relations in the spheres of science and culture. [Text] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 18 Dec 86 p 2 AU]

SOLIDARITY SHIPMENT FOR NICARAGUA -- The components of 20 one-storey houses earmarked for completing the Karl Marx Hospital in Managua are ready for shipment in Rostock's maritime port. They will go on the long voyage on board the GDR freighter Glauchau in late December. With this shipment, the workers of the Stralsund prefabricated parts work fulfilled their solidarity task of producing a total of 40 prefabricated houses for the Latin America country. [Excerpt] [East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 22 Dec 86 p 1 AU]

COMMUNIQUE ON MSZMP CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

LD292107 Budapest MTI in English 1845 GMT 29 Dec 86

["Communique on HSWP CC Session -- (Full Text)" -- MTI headline]

Budapest, December 29 (MTI) -- The Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party met in session on December 28,1986, with Janos Kadar in the chair. The session was attended, besides the Central Committee members, by the president and the secretary of the Central Control Committee, heads of department at the Central Committee, the first secretaries of county party committees and the party committees of regions with county rights, the secretaries of the Budapest Party Committee, the secretaries of the Central Council of Trade Unions, members of the Council of Ministers, leaders of national authorities and the central press, and scientists and economists who had contributed to the elaboration of the issue on the agenda.

The Central Committee discussed and approved

-- A position paper on tasks in accelerating technical development and raising the efficiency of scientific research, put forward by Lenard Pal, secretary of the Central committee.

The Central Committee, accepting the opinion of experts working in research and technical development, set the main principles of and tasks in technical development policy, and the related tasks of society.

1. The Central Committee has established that technical level in Hungary has been considerably raised since liberation. Technological development has followed the main international tendencies and several domestic and international tendencies and several domestic and international scientific achievements have been put into practice. Production processes have been introduced that have contributed to the development and spread of advanced technical culture. In the past period, however, there has been a widening technological gap between Hungary and the countries with an advanced economy. The resolutions of the Central Comittee and the governmental decisions pressing for technical development have not been implemented to a satisfactory extent, which was also due to a drop in the available resources and the failure of economic management and economic organizations to make efficient use of the resources available.

2. The resolution of the 13th congress and the targets of the 7th Five-Year Plan demand an acceleration in technical development, for which the position paper approved by the Central Committee in November provided a plan of action which should be jointly implemented by the government and the companies.

Central management and planning are becoming increazsingly important in promoting technical development and technological modernization, introducing new production cultures and improving the international competitiveness of the Hungarian economy. The standard of technical development is determined by scientific research and the putting into practise of scientific achievements and the main field of its realization is the company and cooperative sphere.

3. The main directions and conditions of technical development in Hungary are included in the 7th Five-Year Plan of the national economy the central schemes of economic development, and the related national mid-term plans for research and development.

The said documents cover the development, use and spreading of processes promoting the efficient use and saving of materials and energy, machine engineering processes, electronization, information technology and biotechnology, and the development of productive infrastructure in the fields which are particularly important from the aspect of technical development.

In the middle term technical development should be, first of all, accelerated in the economic organizations that are steadily efficient and competitive, and in the priority areas of the transformation of the production pattern. The resources required should be created through the re-allocation of company resources and increasing the share of investment projects aimed at technological modernization.

Economic regulation, the price and wage systems and taxation should promote technical development more efficiently. Successful companies should be granted a greater scope in development. Their technical renewal should be encouraged by long-term incentives, the enforcement of efficiency requirements, better cooperation between companies, and the observation and enforcement of contractual discipline.

To modernize the internal organization of companies, provide an appropriate staff of experts for technical development and improve the objective conditions of work are priority tasks. Companies should make greater use of computer methods in technical projecting and production control. To improve quality is a fundamental requirement in production and consequently, instrumental quality control should be intensified in each phase.

4. The finances allocated to research and technical development should increase more rapidly than the national income. Basic research should be encouraged by the differentiated use of finances, a better scheme of tenders and commission, and the creation of competition. The producing and trading companies should play a determining role in setting the targets of applied research, and the evaluation, application and financing of achievements. Companies should no longer be obliged to create a fund for technical development, but decide independently on the use of resources for technical development. The central fund of technical development should be maintained and used for solving the tasks in the scope of central management.

Lasting division of labour and cooperation based upon mutual interest should be established between research institutes, establishments of higher education, and companies, to promote the use of scientific achievements in practice. Cooperation between research, educational and productive organizations should help reduce the time required for the use of R and D results, and promote a concentrated and rationalized use of development resources.

5. The conditions of the country are such that the tendencies of technical development can only be followed through international cooperation. It is important that Hungary should take over from abroad what is obtainable under reasonable terms. Care should be taken for the rapid and efficient application and further development of such purchases.

Cooperation with the socialist countries, first of all with the Soviet Union is a decisive field of international cooperation. Its main directions and tasks are included in the Complex Programme of Technical and Scientific Progress Until the Year 2000. Active and genuine participation in the implementation of the programme is a permanent task of the government and the companies.

We hold it as important to maintain and expand the trade of technologies boosting technical development, and other forms of cooperation and relations with the capitalist countries.

6. Incentives and the human factor are fundamental in the acceleration of technical development and the mobilization of intellectual and material reserves. It is the companies that could do the most for financial and moral appreciation to accord to the performance of technical professionals. State and social organizations, and interest protecting organizations should provide for the appropriate appreciation and remuneration of company experts and major technical achievements. Income and earnings regulations should also work to that aim.

Rapid technical development calls for raising the standard of engineer training, and widening the scope of post-graduate training. Technical and agrarian universities and colleges should be granted better organizational and financial conditions, and their technical facilities and computer engineering and informatical background in particular should be developed.

As the availability of appropriate skilled workers is an indispensable condition of technical development, the personal and objective conditions of vocational training should be improved. The programmes of futher training should be co-ordinated with the requirements arising from the technological modernization of national economy. If the transformation of the product pattern implies the regrouping of manpower, care should be taken for retraining.

7. Propaganda, the media and the press should continuously deal with the issues of technical development, and present the efforts serving technical progress and their results.

8. The party organs and organizations should provide for the political conditions of technical development, and for establishing a public atmosphere encouraging creative work by collectives and individuals. The Communists working in the state organs of management, companies, research institutes and educational establishments should help the implementation of the position paper consistently, with comprehensive initiatives.

The Central Committee calls on the social and mass organizations, associations, the staff of research, development and design institutes and universities of technical development, innovators, inventors, and all technical professionals to make an active and creative contribution to the implementation of the tasks laid down in the position paper.

The Central Committee decided that the position paper will be published in the periodicals of the party and the technical press.

The Central Committee discussed personnel and organizational issues.

-- Laszlo Ballai, head of the Economic Policy Department of the Central Committee, has been relieved of his post with the appreciation of his merits, and will take up an important commission.

-- Deputy Head of Department Miklos Nemeth has been appointed head of the Economic Policy Department of the Central Committee.

-- The Central Committee fhas approved recommendations for the filling of state posts.

PREMIER LAZAR ADDRESSES NATIONAL ASSEMBLY

AU240835 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 20 Dec 86 pp 3, 4

[Address given by Premier Gyorgy Lazar to the National Assembly session in Parliament on 20 December: "Gyorgy Lazar's Speech" -- passages between slantlines published in boldface]

[Text] "Comrade Hetenyi's speech reflects the government's position, and thus, I naturally agree with it. The minister's report, but even more so the resolution of the Central Committee published on 22 November, with which you are familiar, provide a motivation for discussing the situation of our economy, our tasks, and their implementation in a broader sense during the debate of the 1987 budget proposal," said the chairman of the Council of Ministers at the beginning of his speech.

The Focus Is on the Economy [subhead]

"In my speech, I would also like to cover economic issues. I do this fully aware of the fact that some people have expressed criticism of the government, and not only the government, for dealing too much with the economy and as a result, leaving other important questions of management in the background. Without going into detail, I will mention the fact that we are trying to avoid being onesided. However,

"/It is indeed the economy on which we devote most of our efforts, which we handle as a priority, and with which we deal day after day/.

"Do we make a mistake by doing this? In this respect I could refer to the fact that putting great emphasis on the economy is not an exclusively Hungarian phenomenon. Those who follow world developments with attention can see that regardless of social systems, there is no government that can avoid dealing with economic issues. I think that there is an even more convincing argument, namely, the experience concerning satisfying public demands for living standards, better living conditions, or scientific and cultural developments, and according to which.

"/We may progress only when and how much and where we might solve economic tasks and create the necessary financial bases/.

"On the other hand, precisely because the financial bases depend more and more on efficiency, technological development, and labor culture, it is in our fundamental interest to devote more attention to providing conditions that help develop human potential, knowledge, and education. This is the area where political, social and economic interests are interconnected in an organic whole. I think this has clarified the reasons why the economy has been treated with special attention. However, there are other reasons to continue to do this, even in the coming years. Next I would like to talk briefly about the international and domestic conditions which influence our economy."

Peace Is the Most Important Condition [subhead]

"Among international conditions, peace takes precedence over everything else.

The international situation has slightly improved and prospects for developing detente policy are more favorable than at the beginning of the decade. This is, above all, due to the peace initiatives of the Warsaw Pact, the socialist countries, but primarily of the Soviet Union. [paragraph continues]

These initiatives boosted international diplomacy and provided new guidelines and meaning to the struggle for curbing the arms race and preventing a nuclear catastrophe from threatening mankind.

"The Soviet-American summit in Reykjavik was a milestone in this process. For the first time in a long time, it brought a possible comprehensive arms limitation agreement within reach. It has become evident since the Reykjavik meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan that there are still influential forces in the leading circles of the United States and NATO which have opposed in the past and continue to oppose any just agreement.

"The foreign policy position of the Hungarian People's Republic is unchanged. As resolute supporters of the peaceful co-existence of countries with different social systems, which is in our national interest, we fully support the jointly elaborated foreign policy of the Warsaw Pact and will do everything possible to see that it is successfully implemented.

"/We hope that in the end, the will of nations wishing peace will prevail, common sense will gain the upper hand, and disarmament will be achieved by providing a guarantee for equal and joint security/.

"Regarding the domestic situation, we can say that the second important precondition of success is that our internal political situation be balanced and that the people's power be stable. The overwhelming majority of our population agrees with and supports the fundamental issues of our policy. The national unity formed on the basis of approving socialism, the confidence between the party and the masses, and the democratic atmosphere of public life are values of our system which are also appreciated beyond our borders and increase the international prestige of our country.

"The often heated debates over public issues, all the signs of intentions to improve things, and the criticism of absurdities in our lives, all attest to the political maturity of our people and the responsibility felt for the mutual cause, the fate of our homeland, and for the future. Of course, there have always been people, and they are there today, who hope to create confusion and insecurity based on concerns caused by tensions in the international situation, our economic problems, and the problems connected to the developments affecting the standard of living. Anybody can see that facts prove this attitude unjustified. People highly appreciate our socialist achievements, which include security, broad social care, and our financial and cultural assets which continue to increase despite all difficulties.

"They expect from our socialist system, from the more unwavering implementation of our policy, and not from other people, to have their problems solved, thus, they -- the majority of those who agree with our policy -- determine the domestic political atmosphere in our homeland. This is why we can say, in good faith, that we can continue to rely on the support of people in solving our tasks.

"Esteemed comrade delegates! As you know, the Central Committee has reviewed the national economic situation and the experience of economic activities following the 13th congress. In acknowledgement of the achievements and by analyzing them, it devoted great attention to revealing the external and internal causes of our economic difficulties. Evaluating all the objective and subjective reasons, it concluded that the government is also responsible for the development of unfavorable processes.

"By acknowledging the justifiable criticism, we primarily see our responsibility in the fact that we were unable, on time and to the necessary extent, to place economic conditions determining the means of management and enterprise behavior in the service of the economic policy approved by the 13th congress.

"This is one of the reasons why the improvement in efficiency required to consolidate our position in stabilizing our economic equilibrium, and the economic revival due to careful preparations, did not take place; and this in itself caused significant problems. This was just added to by the serious losses we suffered due to natural causes and to the changes of foreign markets within the same period. And while the resources have not even come close to the stipulated level, we have again, as many times in the past, somewhat overfulfilled the original plans regarding distribution."

Readiness for Renewal Is Decisive [subhead]

"This is part of the reason for our problems regarding the balance of payments in the past 2 years. Based on a thorough and responsible analysis, it has again become apparent that there is only one way out of this situation: the unwavering implementation of the economic policy formulated by the 13th congress and of the requirements laid down in the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

"In other words: /It is absolutely necessary to turn toward a progressive economic policy based on improvements in efficiency and quality/. If we do not act accordingly, we might put at risk what we have already achieved and we might fall irretrievably behind in the international competition. At the same time, it has become clear that a different process is involved in reviving an economy that can satisfy present and future requirements and can preserve economic equilibrium. This process is, contrary to previous beliefs, neither smaller nor easier than the one we managed to solve in the years of restrictons; on the contrary, it is to a certain extent more complicated and more difficult.

"There is an explanation for this which is relatively easy to understand. In order to carry out a restriction policy that will temporarily restore the balance, which is not a mere trifle, and will, at the same time, significantly restrict selective development, one would only need to strictly curb the outflow of purchasing power or have suitable institutions and means "to tap" the already existing purchasing power. Practice has shown that we possess both."

"In order to succeed with an economic policy based on revitalization, efficiency, and better competitiveness, high-level and organized work must be carried out by a multitude of producers. In this work, the main role is played by the interest of collectives and individuals and by their readiness for renewal. The government has a definite responsibility and duty to assert the economic requirements and create the conditions necessary for the implementation of the Seventh 5-Year Plan.

"In this respect the Central Committee resolution provides a clear and precise guide, which we, on our part, naturally consider obligatory, and we shall endeavor to comply with the requirements. In this spirit, by continuing the implementation of already defined measures, we will make further concrete steps to strengthen corporate work and personal responsibility, improve the coordination of main trends and the daily and long-term tasks, define national tasks more exactly, organize and control their implementation, and simplify the organizational, legal, and institutional systems."

Much Depends on Enterprises [subhead]

"We are paying great attention especially to the organization needed to implement the six central economic development programs, including that of the development of the manufacturing of electronic components and parts, the spread of technologies that facilitate energy management and saving of materials and the fulfillment of programs to utilize by-products and wastes. All these six programs are aimed at structural improvements, greater performance, and the reduction of costs.

"We also consider /to be among the most important tasks, the acceleration decided upon to further develop the management system/. I think that it can be seen from the list, which does not claim to be complete, that we are aware of the fact that it is primarily the government that must ensure the many important conditions already mentioned by Comrade Hetenyi, for a successful economy, including the price, wage, and fiscal conditions which stimulate people to more profitable work. This is obvious. However, we must understand that; and now, I ask that nobody misunderstand me, and I say this not just to reduce our own responsibility or shift it onto others; in the end, the responsibility for a successful, qualitative economy rests with the enterprises. I consider it necessary to emphasize this because in my experience we tend, contrary to its significance, to talk more about what does not depend on enterprises and less about what actually does depend on them.

"/There are numerous examples of the fact that there are enterprises and cooperatives working under similar conditions where one operation is prosperous and able to develop, while the other is kept alive only by state subsidy./ These examples refer to all branches of the economy; that is, industry, agriculture, and the building sector.

"This situation, which will soon be untenable, also shows the weakness of the government in managing the economy, and this is also the source of many of our problems. What is more, this situation is criticized by enterprises and cooperatives from both groups. Those who work well criticize because we impose too high a tax on them, and those who operate poorly criticize because we do not support them enough. In my opinion, this is one reason, albeit not the main one, for our having scarcely advanced toward profitability and differentiation according to individual performance, and this in spite of all our vows to do so. This is also the reason that if manpower moves at all, it does not move toward the branches and enterprises that are capable of developing and where higher production would be in line with the national economic interests, and in the final instance, personal interests.

"The present situation must be done away with, however inconvenient it might be, because it is in many respects inconsistent, it is contrary to our economic endeavors, and if it is allowed to continue and conceal the differences in performance, both visually and financially, enterprise incentives will remain insufficient to boost operation or make enterprises want to do so. What is worse, this situation would conceal the responsibility for unsuccessful management.

"In these circumstances, the measures taken to increase enterprise independence will become futile. However, mobile resources, more entrepreneurial readiness and risk-taking are necessary to escape from the present situation. For this we must ensure an even greater enterprise independence and must allow more room for the influence of factors depending on management quality, which will also create more differentiation and produce a healthy mobility of manpower.

"I would like to repeat: /In my opinion, a growth in the performance of our national economy will decisively depend on how fast and how great a change we are able to achieve in the quality of enterprise management./ Even the government considers it one of the most urgent tasks to solve the problem of incentives successfully.

"At the same time we rely on and regard it as indispensable that the leaders of enterprises and cooperatives participate creatively in introducing the renewal process and in increasing standards, order and discipline, and improving labor conditions. We ask the party organizations, trade unions, social activists, and socialist brigades to participate in joint thinking and support the leaders who possess these demanding intentions supporting renewal.

"Esteemed comrade delegates! Considering our potential, the revitalization of the economy is an indispensable precondition of our joining the international division of labor more intensively. This requires above all that

"/We be more deliberate in making production development be at the service of export, and not just export in general, but export that is profitable and improves the terms of trade/. Simultaneously, we should elaborate and more rapidly introduce measures that make it possible to preserve already-developed markets and conquer new ones. These measures refer to the further development of Hungary's economic diplomacy and the adaptation of the structure of foreign trade organizations to the changed requirements.

"While talking about the commission work he leads, Comrade Bognar has given an overall picture and spoken convincingly about the requirements of this issue. I myself can only confirm that the government accepts and highly appreciates the commission's suggestions. When I express our thanks, I also voice my hope that we expect to rely on their participation in the practical implementation as well."

Cooperation With the Socialist Countries [subhead]

"Dear Comrades! In expanding our national economic relations, our particpation within CEMA in the new, progressive processes of socialist economic integration is of decisive importance. From the closer integration,

"/From the comprehensive scientific and technological program for progress up to the year 2000, we expect that additional opportunities will be found with which we may help accelerate progress on a path of intensive development/,

"And improve our export supply. Among the existing relations with CEMA member-states, the diverse and successful cooperation with the Soviet Union is of particular importance for us. This also explains why the measures approved at the 27th congress to promote the qualitative renewal of the Soviet economy have been followed with keen interest and sincere sympathy in our homeland. These measures will surely give a new impetus to the mutually beneficial development of our economic relations. In this respect, there is a continuous and creative work in progress. As a result, we have succeeded in increasing the long-term trade agreement expiring in 1990 by 800 million rubles up to now, and this does not even pretend to have exploited all possibilities.

"In an effort to promote the introduction of new ways and methods of cooperation, we have, as you know, recently signed with Comrade Ryzhkov, chairman of the Soviet Union's Council of Ministers, the intergovernmental agreements containing general regulations for founding joint enterprises and providing a framework for direct cooperation among the collectives of enterprises, institutions, and those working in the fields of research and development. On this basis, talks on the foundation of the first joint enterprises are in advanced stage. Negotiations are also under way to expand economic cooperation with the GDR, the PPR, the CSSR, and with our other socialist partners. With all this, we hope to be able to better satisfy our needs, and in addition, to help realize our intention to take part more successfully on the world market and to make our participation more effective in the international division of labor. Not even our economic cooperation with socialist countries can make us give up, nor do we wish to give up.

"/The expansion of our economic relations with other countries of the world, including the developed capitalist countries, which is based equality and reciprocal interests/. We, on our part, have taken numerous steps to promote the expansion of mutually advantageous trade, to place economic relations on wider foundations. [paragraph continues]

We cannot, however, say the same with regard to some of our partners. Politically motivated and other kinds of discriminatory relations continue to be in force and set artificial obstacles in the path of expanding commercial trade. For instance, it is well-known that in the EEC countries Hungarian goods are to this day burdened with disadvantages, including import bans and high customs, which unfavorably influence our position in the competition. We hope that the discussion under way will be fruitful in eliminating these obstacles.

"As I have already mentioned, we consider the creation of a framework necessary for a successful foreign market activity to be a governmental task. However, I must stress once again that improvements in possibilities will primarily depend on what supply the enterprises can present to the market, on whether they are able to adapt quickly and flexibly to demands, and on how far they can be considered reliable business partners. There is a fair amount of favorable experience in this field already, but we cannot as yet be satisfied with the results."

Let Us Make It a National Cause [subhead]

"Esteemed National Assembly! The Central Committee resolution has again placed great, indeed, unusually great emphasis on the social conditions for improving our economic work, on the growing role of human factors in the renewal. This is fully understandable, because we can say without exaggeration that it is our first political priority to overcome our problems, reverse unfavorable trends, expedite favorable ones, and continue the progress along the course of development designated by the Seventh 5-Year Plan; and this is a requirement that can only be accomplished with the collaboration of the entire society. We have to ask ourselves: Have we succeeded in making the public adequately realize the size of the task involved in completely renewing the economy, accelerating the rate of growth, increasing competitiveness on the world market, and do people see how high the stake is? I think the answer must be: No. How large the task and how high the stake have not been realized adequately. In this respect, we, the government, also have plenty to do. Also by our own means.

"/It is necessary to help make a national cause out of elevating our economy's level of development and increasing its prestige on the world market, and make every individual consider this cause a personal matter/. That is, to make common cause out of the rational management of our assets, of the protection of values created by hard labor, and of the desire for good quality work performed with discipline; thus, to make the society's disapproval become the main disciplining force and its voice of appreciation the highest reward. We must see to it that the Hungarian public know better all those enterprises, socialist brigades, and creative people whose work is an example to be followed and who enhance our reputation in the world.

"We must make people accept the fact that the differences of incomes gained from work do not mean a deviation from our socialist principles. On the contrary, it is egalitarianism and the blurring of the difference between outstanding and poor performances which are harmful to the enforcement of justice. Last, but not least, building on historical experiences, on the inexhaustible reserves of our socialist system, on our people's diligence and talent, we must strengthen self-confidence and the belief in our ability to carry out our tasks and strengthen the commitment for wanting to do so. In the spirit of these thoughts, I myself request the honorable Parliament to approve the 1987 budget proposal.

"I request my delegate colleagues, and through them all of our compatriots, to support the successful implementation of our plan for the coming year," concluded Gyrogy Lazar.

AREAS FOR JOINT VENTURES DISCUSSED WITH USSR

AU231316 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian 18 Dec 86 p 5

[Article by Katalin Bossanyi, based on minister-led talks of a delegation of enterprise directors in Moscow on 16 December: "Dual Ties -- The Quest for Soviet-Hungarian Joint Ventures"]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] Those holding the relevant Hungarian and Soviet portfolios met in the All-Union Ministry of Electronics Industry with the leaders of the [Hungarian] Mikroelectronikai Enterprise, of the Hiradastechnika [communications technology] Cooperative, of the Soviet scientific and manufacturing partnership [not further specified], and those of the Elektronzagranpostavka [All Union Electronic Foreign Supplies Association]. The "four-in-hand" intend to establish and sell highly complex integrated circuits. By next year they will be completing only the assembly of silicon chips in the Hungarian factories -- and will return part of the integrated circuits to the Soviet Union -- but during the coming years joint investment could also help establish a complete vertical technology in Hungary. Details of production have already been fixed, only the issue of payments awaits clarification. Hungarian experts have suggested that, due to the initial zero balance -- that is, we buy as much as we sell -- the ventures should be regarded as a barter transaction.... Deputy Minister A.A. Inauri answered as follows: "I agree, because this will accelerate the foundation of a joint enterprise. Our ministry is authorized to organize such cooperation. However, we would like to suggest the joint sale of modern products on third markets, and not only on Soviet and Hungarian markets. I must note that we are satisfied with the automatic measuring equipment delivered by the Mikroelectronikai Enterprise, but we receive less than you could deliver."

A Hungarian interjection: "There could be problems about reciprocity in this resepct."

Inauri: "We have already mentioned to our planning office that they should endeavor to have a balance in national economic deliveries for exports and imports, and should not limit commodity-for-commodity trade to a particular ministry or profession."

The negotiations concluded with a provisional agreement, and during a break I asked the deputy minister why he insisted so much on establishing joint enterprises. The answer is as follows:

"This is because this form of cooperation is the most advantageous for the future. We are also negotiating with Bulgarian and CSSR firms, but I think the economic lessons of the joint venture with the Hungarians could be regarded as an example for other CEMA countries as well."

In the Ministry of Instrument Making people are putting the finishing touches to the statutory document for the joint enterprise involving Medicor and the All-Union Scientific Research Institute for Medical Equipment. The mixed enterprise from Esztergom has a shared -- 50-50 percent -- capital of 168 million forints. By next year they will produce coordinated elements for automated diagnostic systems totalling 100 million forints, and will gradually switch over to using Soviet microprocessors. They mixed enterprise will increase its production tenfold by 1990. [passage omitted] [paragraph continues]

A.I. Kuzmitskiy, deputy minister for instrument making, summarized the advantages as follows:

"In our health services we would like to place emphasis on preventive medicine, and therefore we need a great amount of diagnostic equipment. We have chosen Medicor because we consider it to be a reliable partner that guarantees first-class products. Our relations go back several decades. This year we bought medical instruments and appliances, including complete hospitals, to the value of 45 million rubles. On the basis of Hungarian know-how and our microprocessor technology, we expect considerable success from this joint enterprise."

I asked: "Will you also involve capitalist partners?"

"For the time being, we do not plan such a step at this particular enterprise. However, concerning this jointly developed product group of the Ganz Power Measuring Enterprise and of the similar firm in Vilnius, we will form a joint sales office in Hungary which will exclusively deal with marketing in the third countries."

In the Machine Science Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, suggestions have been made for cooperation in the first phase of the innovation process, that is, in research and development. This could involve the utilization of new materials, but according to academician N.A. Manutov, a really fast improvement in joint work can be expected in the case of nuclear power stations. He said, "I can only speak with appreciation of the computer technology for operation and control at the Paks Nuclear Power Station. Your experts made a first-class job of this. We, on the other hand, made progress in the various fields of acoustic emission research and other safety technology processes. It would be useful to set up a joint organization for engineers to exchange experiences and continue work in coordination with each other."

This desire became reality in the agreement with the Ministry of Nuclear Power, which Minister N.F. Lukonin evaluated as follows:

"In setting up the thousand [megawatt] block we would certainly like to use the Paks experiment.

What else was there on the "menu" of joint ventures from which we could choose? An interesting solution will be made by Tungsram and the Svetotekhnika Enterprise in Saransk. The point of this is that the large Hungarian enterprise cannot make enough neon tubes for export because it does not have free capital for expansion and to mechanize the assembly work, although its modern glass production unit in Vac stays idle. However, it does manufacture neon tubes assembly lines for its Soviet partners. The Saransk factory will now buy three of these lines, albeit for the factory in Vac. (This will be the capital of the Saransk factory). They will then share the profit from additional production and exports.

There is something else: "Three-legged" -- Soviet-Hungarian-FRG -- cooperation is being formed as a mixed enterprise in the agricultural engineering sector. And based on a long-term agreement, the [Hungarian] Tool Making Works will deliver machining operation units, production cells, and flexible production systems for reconstruction work within the Soviet car industry. Director General Matyas Jakab said that several solutions were discussed. He, personally, would prefer the establishment of a joint assets handling organization (holding) [Last word published in English]. Namely, they could import ready-made cars similar to the agreements with the Skoda, Dacia, and Volkswagen factories.

This idea is connected to the suggestion of Deputy Minister I.S. Silayev, with which many people will agree. According to this, a joint assembly plant for Zaporozhets [small USSR automobiles] would be set up in Hungary by the relevant Soviet-Hungarian enterprises. (The heads of delegations immediately inspected the new models on show. The bodies are attractive and they resemble small Japanese or Italian cars. It was agreed that both sides will conduct the necessary technical and business analyses for setting up a joint factory.)

During the talks the deputy minister emphasized that it is necessary to expedite the establishment of mixed enterprises. Among other things, this will also require that experts from both countries would have to better acquaint themselves with each other's economic regulations and enterprise management systems. Therefore, he suggested that a mixed enterprise consultation be organized soon in Budapest for Soviet managers. [passage omitted]

GAS DELIVERY AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH USSR

LD281905 Budapest MTI in English 1645 GMT 28 Dec 86

[Text] Budapest, December 28 (MTI) -- Leaders of the Hungarian Mineralimpex foreign trade company and the Soviet foreign trade union Soyuzgasexport signed the natural gas delivery agreement for 1987, in Budapest Sunday. Under the terms of the agreement, Hungary is to receive more natural gas from the Sovit Union than in the previous years, through the "Fraternity" gas pipe-line. The amount is to cover 40 percent of Hungarian gas consumption. Deliveries of natural gas were launched in 1975, since which time a total of 35,000 million cubic metres of gas has been delivered to Hungary, including the amount specified in the new agreement.

GOODS EXCHANGE AGREEMENT SIGNED WITH BULGARIA

LD221501 Budapest MTI in English 1428 GMT 22 Dec 86

[Text] Budapest, December 22 (MTI) -- On Monday Deputy Trade Ministers Ferenc Spilak of Hungary and Marin Radulov Marinov of Bulgaria discussed in Budapest the 1986 exchange of assortments, directed cooperation between department stores and the quality of services in restaurants and shops. The ministers signed the 1987 agreement on assortment exchanges and technical-scientific cooperation, under which Bulgarian goods worth nearly 2,000 million forints, including black and white television sets, electric fittings, leather goods, household metal bulk goods, synthetic products and office supplies are to be delivered to Hungary. In return Bulgaria is to receive household appliances, washing machines and lamp sources.

Marin Radulov Marinov met Minister of Internal Trade Zoltan Juhar.

WALESA SETS UP COMMISSIONS ON ECONOMY, TU'S

AU300818 Paris AFP in English 0330 GMT 30 Dec 86

[Text] Warsaw, Dec 30 (AFP) -- Independent labor leader Lech Walesa Monday announced the formation of two national commissions by the outlawed union federation "Solidarity".

He appointed Tadeusz Jedynak, former Solidarity leader in Upper Silesia, to head a commission on Poland's economy, and named Wladyslaw Frasyniuk, the lower Silesian Solidarity leader, to chair a commission on associations and trade unions.

Last week, Mr. Walesa asked Zbigniew Romaszewski, a founder of the banned KOR (Worker's Defense Committee), to form a commission on legal questions. One of its goals is to obtain release of the estimated 18 political prisoners remaining in Poland. Some of them are accused of terrorism.

After the amnesty of Solidarity militants last Septmeber, Mr. Walesa set up a Solidarity provisional national council determined to act in broad daylight. Thirteen regional councils of the banned federation have already been set up.

Several dozen anti-Communist militants were warned by police last week that they must declare "the nature of their illegal activities" by December 31 in order to benefit from the amnesty, reliable sources have disclosed. Those warned included Zbigniew Bujak, former underground leader of the dissolved Solidarity.

BARCIKOWSKI ADDRESSES SEJM ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT

AU241747 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 20-21 Dec 86 p 4

["Summary" of the State Council's report on the implementation of the law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government bodies, presented by Kazimierz Barcikowski, deputy chairman of the State Council, to the Sejm's 19 December session in Warsaw]

[Text] The State Council once again submits to the Sejm a report on the implementation of the law on the system of people's councils and territorial self-government bodies during the first half of the people's councils' term. We expect that we will have to evaluate again the working of this law at the end of this term. This is dictated by our concern to ensure that this law be respected, that the authority of the people's councils and self-government groups be strengthened, and that the legal conditions for the activities be improved.

Almost everyone agrees that the law in question has been verified in practice and that it provides the right legal conditions for the performance of the councils and bodies. It also plays its role in the process of properly devising legal rules concerning field activities. All the same, certain contradictions are still present in legal enactments and must be speedily eliminated. Some minor changes can be made straight away, but here are also many proposals for far-reaching changes, some of which can be disputed. Sitll, we do not lightly guillotine any proposal, and that is why we want to ask prominent lawyers to analyze all the proposals in this matter and to examine the legal contradictions present in the laws on the functioning of people's councils and territorial self-government groups. We expect these lawyers to make their recommendations no later than 1988.

The law in question and other laws on local government have enabled hundreds of thousands of our citizens to take a hand in deciding on matters closest to them, from their villages, townships, and plants, up to the voivodships, and the state. No one has as yet invented a better form of civic education than participation by the citizens in deciding about common affairs and implementing their own decisions. We highly value the fact that citizens participate in running local affairs without pay and often devote their leisure time to doing so. They are the social base of people's rule and its tasks, and no managers, even the best ones, could replace them. As for those who represent red tape and who want peace and quiet only for themselves, they count for nothing in the eyes of those citizens. But, mind you, we still have many bureaucrats.

There is also another problem. We have many so-called wise guys in the underground and in the opposition who know no restraint and no rule of politeness in trying to teach us about dialogue, the sovereignty of citizens, and so on, and so forth. They have created an artificial and false thesis that the government is in opposition to society. Nonsense! Do the gmina [township] councils represent government or society? Do workers councils represent government or society? And what about people's councils, cooperative councils, and members of many social and political organizations?

Much has been done to transfer the letter and spirit of the law on local government into general practice and to take the decisionmaking on local affairs to the field, but much is still to be done. As for the issue of decentralization, not every department has fully transferred to voivodships the powers that should have been transferred under the law in question. On the other hand, only a few voivodships have begun transferring various powers to townships and gminas [townships]. What is more, arguments have appeared against any changes, including the argument that resources will be dissipated and that the local cadres are undermanned. Our response is: Transfer powers to the echelons that have demonstrated their abilities and have the necessary personnel and conditions.

The people's councils and local administration, mainly at voivodship level, are in charge of large areas of affairs that are of the utmost importance for citizens, including individual problems, the communal economy, handicrafts, trade, cottage industry, farming, the health service, education, and culture. These are enormous areas of activity, ones that are difficult to manage. Still, they must be evaluated locally and must be subjected to local responsibility. We are entitled to expect that the people's councils will act in the spirit of the third Central Committee plenum and will tighten the commitments and responsibilities of the administrative apparatus and of all subordinate services and institutions set up to discharge functions that are of crucial importance for citizens.

The people's councils continue to be faced with the issue of creating lasting fiscal foundations and local resources of income. The general demand is that their share in the central budget be guaranteed for longer periods -- for at least 5 years -- so that additional local funds obtained through thrift and good management do not result in lowering central subsidies. Although this is no easy problem in view of the need to balance the central budget, and although inflation continues, it is necessary to consider this demand.

Funds granted to rural and settlement self-government bodies for local purposes are an important element of their functioning, because they are able to sponsor social production pledges and invest in them people's resources and labor. The revival of social production pledges is one of the visible results of the development of local government. Still, we need greater efforts to revive small-scale production.

The people's councils can discharge their functions all the better if their ties with citizens are more extensive and more direct. That is why we attach great importance to meetings between people's councillors and the electorate and to public consultations about important decisions. The implementation of the initiatives stemming from the 10th congress resolution and concerning the establishment of new social bodies can be facilitated by increased contacts between people's councils and citizens. The PRON continues to discuss with the public the draft principles in line with which an ombudsman is to be appointed. The institution of the ombudsman will create additional guarantees of the rule of law. The Voivodship Peole's Councils continue to appoint socioeconomic councils, which represent an attempt to transfer to the field the positive experience gained through the existence of such a council under the aegis of the Sejm. We expect that socioeconomic councils will establish standing contacts between work forces, cooperative organizations, and self-government bodies of inhabitants, on the one hand, and the people's councils, on the other, in order to reach agreement on various issues. We appeal to the people's councils to attend more vigorously to the problems of the natural environment. The implementation of the proposals and demands submitted by the electorate continues to be the central task of the council. We think that the councils' honest approach to this implementation helps strengthen their standing among local communities.

We regard the work of the people's councils and self-government bodies as an important component part of state life and as an important factor in socialist democracy. We do not think that socialist democracy has reached its best development. On the contrary, we hope that the growing vitality of the people's councils and self-goevernment will help develop socialist democracy in theory and in practice.

MESSNER, WARSAW LEADERS DISCUSS CITY PROBLEMS

LD230011 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 2200 GMT 22 Dec 86

[Text] Premier Zbigniew Messner has met with the Warsaw authorities. They discussed the implementation of the Government Presidium decisions taken on the initiative of Wojciech Jaruzelski in 1984, and also the problems raised by the development of urban agglomerations. They approved measures which should aid the more efficient solution of the needs of the capital's inhabitants. Summing up the discussion, the premier emphasized that Warsaw, apart from the functions typical of great cities, also has duties arising from its nature as the capital. This places additional tasks on the capital's authorities and necessitates successive meetings of this type.

OFFICIAL ON RELIGIOUS KNOWLEDGE IN SCHOOLS

AU241239 Warsaw SZTANDAR MLODYCH in Polish 4 Dec 86 pp 1, 2

[Interview given by Stefan Garwacki, head of the Social Issues Workshop of the School Curricula Institute, to Zbigniew Gajewski: "Religious Knowledge in Schools -- Instruction Without Emotion" -- date and place not given]

[Excerpts] [Gajewski] Most secondary schools and some vocational and technical secondary schools instruct pupils in a new subject -- religious knowledge -- which was introduced last September. As expected, this subject has provoked controversies, and the writers connected with the Catholic Church allege that the purpose of this instruction is to promote atheization of young people. Any comment?

[Garwacki] We have stated our position in the program relating to the subject in question. There exists no other document that explains our intentions, which are quite clear. The subject of religious knowledge treats religion as a social phenomenon and is not meant to denigrate religion as a world outlook. [passage omitted]

[Gajwski] Will this school subject not promote atheistic attitudes?

[Garwacki] I think it may do this in the same way as it may promote religiousness, which, as I see it, would then become more intense as well as more humanistic and tolerant. If tolerance is a long last to occupy its proper place in our society, then people must be able to discuss various world outlooks. Tolerance cannot be developed if we fail to appreciate the role of world outlooks in man's life, but in order to discuss them we must have a common language. Can the language of atheist propaganda or of theology become a common language? The school subject of religious knowledge is a step toward such a language.

[Gajewski] Can this subject be taught by a believing teacher?

[Garwacki] As far as I know the school authorities do not ask teachers about their views when instructing them to teach the subject of religious knowledge. This teaching can be done by any teacher whose attitude toward his own religion and toward other religions is in accord with the spirit of the subject in question. This means that such a teacher will present his own religion as a social phenomenon and will not try to classify other religions as inferior. He who is intolerant is not fit to foster tolerance, and this is not doubt as plain as a pikestaff. This is exactly what can also be said about belligerent atheism. [passage omitted]

NO NEED TO REGISTER MEAT RATION CARDS AFTER JAN

LD232108 Warsaw Domestic Service in Polish 1500 GMT 23 Dec 86

[Text] In accordance with the decision of the Government Presidium, the registration of ration cards for meat and its products will no longer be obligatory from January next year. Ration cards, therefore, will be honored in every place of residence and workplace of its owner. This way, further difficulties for purchasers will disappear.

PARIS PAPER INTERVIEWS POLISH DISSIDENT GEREMEK

PM241200 Paris LIBERATION in French 16 Dec 86 p 27

[Interview with former Solidarity adviser Bronislaw Geremek by Veronique Soule in Warsaw -- date not given]

[Text] Warsaw -- LIBERATION: Do you see any signs of a change?

Bronislaw Geremek: It is no longer possible for the government to bury its head in the sand. Economic problems and social tension have increased greatly since 13 December [1981]. I am sure that the government is aware of this and is trying to find a solution. But it does not know what to do.

Economic problems dominate everything now. The government has realized that it would not find a solution without reorganizing public life. [paragraph continues]

The question of real democratization is now being examined. The word has long been taboo in this part of Europe: It was impossible to democratize the most "democratic" regime in the world. However, a change of tone is being observed. Gorbachev used the word democratization for the first time in a recent speech. This is very important. This change means that the Polish team can reform.

LIBERATION: Do you regard Gorbachev as a good opportunity for the East?

Bronislaw Geremek: Yes. But Poland, which ought to be the first to take advantage of this, is not doing so. The government still seems to be frustrated by the experience of 1980 and 1981 and is frightened by the idea that a real people might once again emerge on real socialism's stage.

At the last party congress in July, we saw an attempt to extend the Polish "difference" with three proposals: The proposal to form a consultative council, to appoint an ombudsman, and to reform the electoral law. Unfortunately in practice these proposals became fictional initiatives.

The problem of democratization takes a concrete form. It does not imply a return to parliamentary liberalism but a move toward the monopoly of power being limited by the government itself. This presupposes:

1 -- The existence of cultural and regional associations, discussion groups and so forth to reflect the pluralism of Polish life.
2 -- Greater freedom of speech.
3 -- A reform of the way in which legal bodies are appointed to ensure a minimum of independence of objectivity.
4 -- The creation of institutions which would temporarily compensate for the lack of democratic freedom.

LIBERATION: The government presented the Consultative Council, which was set up on 4 December and is officially open to all, as a move in this direction.

Bronislaw Geremek: This is one of Solidarity's ideas but it has been distorted: Neither the independence nor the representative nature of the council members is guaranteed. It is unacceptable for the government to select its members. The government still seems to be seeking legitimacy and a show of consensus. But Poland needs a real consensus.

LIBERATION: Had you placed a great deal of hope in this council?

Bronislaw Geremek: Yes, but without many illusions. The September amnesty which, like all the others, was aimed at crushing the opposition, was a courageous political decision. After the releases, this Consultative Council was formed. But I was naive. The results have been disappointing.

And yet, I have not lost hope that the government will understand. The granting of limited freedom is a bad course of action. The Poles want something but in the form of a contract not in the form of a gift.

LIBERATION: Do you think that General Jaruzelski wants democratization?

Bronislaw Geremek: Why not? But I do not want to discuss the government's philosophy. It is forced to adopt it by the economic situation. We are witnessing an increased awareness in the government. Will all this be achieved? I see no signs which confirm the small amount of optimism I still have.

LIBERATION: Jaruzelski has used "gentle" repression. Would you say that he is a liberal?

Bronislaw Geremek: I look at the policy, not the man. I cannot forget that he decreed martial law. I hope that he will not go down in history as "the man behind 13 December." But for the time being that is what he is.

The question is what policy he will implement. I think he would be capable of pursuing a liberal policy. It must be added that, although there is more freedom in Poland than elsewhere in the Eastern Bloc, this is the result of a real situation of strength rather than a liberal intention. In addition the Polish Government has greater socio-technical know-how. Repression here is effective and clever: High fines, confiscation of cars and even of apartments -- this is enormously strong pressure in view of the storages -- and 3-month prison sentences imposed without trial. This does not make a great impact on internal and international opinion. At the same time emergency laws have been adopted should they be needed.

LIBERATION: You have not mentioned "reprivatization" -- a word which is fashionable in Poland where Friedman and Mill are read (Footnote) (Stuart Mill, the British founder of liberal economic thinking, and Milton Friedman, an ultra-liberal American economist).

Bronislaw Geremek: I have reservations about this neo-liberal movement whose program the government happily accepts because it is totally unrealistic. Self-management is a more important question: A democratic society must be built at grass roots level and big enterprises must be dismantled. Small is beautiful. Self-management counteracts the totalitarian temptation.

LIBERATION: What place does Solidarity have in the future?

Bronislaw Geremek: Although it is illegal, Solidarity exists and has the will to exist. The country's main interest is to overcome the crisis. Solidarity has a sense of responsibility and is prepared to support a reasonable program and to pay the price for it. Despite all the pessimistic facts there is a possibility of returning to the philosophy of the Gdansk agreements. We are at a turning point.

LIBERATION: Does Solidarity have a new program?

Bronislaw Geremek: We are not a partner and have no reason to have a program. On the other hand, we know the direction we must take. A broad debate is in progress on general strategy. Should Solidarity, despite its absence, accept sacrifices for the higher interest -- for instance accept an austerity plan -- provided the economic reform and consequently the Gdansk agreements are implemented?

Yes, although it is persecuted and illegal, Solidarity must simply defend the workers and loudly demand: First a return to legal status and after that, we will see... There are risks of division in this.

LIBERATION: Are you afraid that the opposition may one day be reduced to dissidence?

Bronislaw Geremek: I do not rule out this danger. The strategy of reducing people to exhaustion might eventually wear it down. But I do not believe this will happen. Too many people are speaking openly. The second, more plausible hypothesis is that the dissident mentality would prevail over the mentality of the Solidarity mass movement. The danger is greater. According to the opinion polls, one fourth of the population supports Walesa, one fourth Jaruzelski, and the remaining half is the silent majority. The latter is the government's hope and it wants to build a consensus on this majority. If the opposition moves away from this silent majority, it will fall into a dissident mentality.

BRIEFS

INDIAN TRADE PROTOCOL -- Warsaw, Dec 10 -- A trade protocol for 1987 to the five year trade and payment agreement between Poland and India was signed here today after talks between the two countries. The agreement says that next year Poland is going to import from India nutritive fodder, tea, rice, pepper, cotton and cotton products, jute and jute products, iron ore and its concentrates, mica, textile machines, photocopiers and other industrial equipment. The protocol also opens possibilities for considerable broadening of purchases in India of various components and spares necessary for the production of equipment made by Polish industry. Poland is going to deliver to India machines and equipment including cargo-passenger and fishing vessels, power engineering and mining equipment, ship engines, machine tools, textile machines, electro-engineering products and also certain amounts of sulphur, hard coal, chemical products, non-ferrous metals and rapeseed oil. This year, Polish-Indian trade will amount to about 230 million dollars, a 40 percent growth as compared to 1985. The protocol for next year provides for another 30 percent increase. It is a confirmation of a dynamic development of economic relations with India. [Text] [Warsaw PAP in English 2312 GMT 10 Dec 86 LD]

REPORTAGE ON LCY CENTRAL COMMITTEE SESSION

Brigic Report

LD252002 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 0543 GMT 25 Dec 86

["Introductory Report by Ivan Brigic at a Session of the LCY Central Committee -- embargoed until further notice" -- TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG) -- The period of 6 months after the 13th Congress is too short, considering the weight of the situation, to allow for a change, but we can establish that the LC did not succeed in mobilizing and organizing all social forces of the society to overcome the accumulated difficulties, Ivan Brigic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, said in the introductory report at today's session of the LCY Central Committee.

He illustrated this statement with the fact that no significant change occurred either in economic life or in dealing with obstacles on the way to a more resolute development of self-management. Nor was the power of bureaucratic etatism and technocratic trends decreased, while nationalism is on the increase. There is also the pressure of a liberalistic watershed of the class essence of socialist democracy. Nor were the causes of the counterrevolutionary attacks on Kosovo eliminated or overcome. International conditions are also having unfavorable effects on the economic crisis and are making it more difficult to get out of it more speedily.

However, Brigic stressed, in this situation we should (?not) forget that numerous collectives all over the country, even in such difficult conditions, are realizing good, and some even above-average production results; are fighting the battle to catch the pace of the world technological process; and are carrying out export plans. We are speaking very little of such results; we insufficiently analyze the experience of these collectives and the ways of their activity. And this, he stressed, can be considered our great shortcoming in view of assessing realistic possibilities for changing the situation and the organization and ideopolitical capability of the LC. Often we are exhausting ourselves in criticism of the present situation and do not offer enough solutions, which leads to the danger that under the burden of difficulties we could lose a clear vision which resulted from the strategy of our socialist revolution. [passage omitted]

The LC is still facing the biggest tasks in the area of realizing the policy of economic stabilization, Brigic said. With the changes in the development and economic policy and the economic system, which we are about to start, a process of more comprehensive and creative application of the long-term program of economic stabilization will start. These changes and the transfer to the realistic economy will represent for the membership and the organs and organizations of the LCY a new situation that demands a concrete struggle for the consciousness of people and for the change in behavior, greater productivity, and better organization of work, more efficient utilization of social assets, and all the available human and material potential. [passage omitted] Further in his report, Brigic spoke about the orientations of the LCY for the development and changes in the political system.

In the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee and in its working bodies and executive and political organs of the republican and provincial LC's several discussions on the ideopolitical questions of preparing proposals for changes in the SFRY Constitution and for organizing activity in connection with the Law on Associated Labor have been carried out.

However, he assessed, there has been to much stress on the procedure at the level of principled discussions and on the basic content of these changes, often from the point of view of one-sided exclusive approaches, which makes it more difficult to overcome more speedily dilemmas and differences in stands and views on certain key questions raised in the process of constitutional changes; thereby making it possible to begin again discussions on many questions already discussed and solved. [passage omitted] For us, the Communists, a discussion on the functioning of the political system and its development is a discussion on the continuity of the revolution, and not just on any relations and changes.

In the present social conditions, the LC should by no means underestimate the struggle against increasingly organized activity of nationalistic and other antisocialist and anti-self-management forces and trends. All of them are very loudly coming out with their political interpretations of this juncture and the ways of solving social problems, of course, starting with their reactionary and conservative ideological concepts, no longer hiding the fact that in Yugoslavia they would like to found a different political system, either a bourgeois or an etatist-bureaucratic one.

In our everyday activity we cannot neglect, Brigic stressed, the struggle against bourgeois right and other antisocialist forces, and in particular against nationalism, since it is one of the prerequisities for the success in the struggle for economic stabilization and socialist self-management. In all social environments, nationalism is on the increase. Nationalistic awareness in various ways in penetrating wider strata of society, also dashing against the ranks of Communists, and, in worrying proportions, also sections of youth. The cutting edge of nationalism, as well as of explicitly reactionary anti-working-class Ideology, and in our situation, of an expressly anti-people's trend, is directed primarily toward socialist self-management, LCY's leading role equality, and the brotherhood and unity of nations and nationalities.

Therefore, with special responsibility, the LC must struggle for consistent implementation of the policy of equality of nations and nationalities, for brotherhood and unity, and against any nationalism, since it is the mainstay of the gathering of all antisocialist forces and, therefore, the most dangerous stronghold of the class enemy. In this, the Communists of Yugoslavia must be completely uncompromising and united.

Absorbed in economic problems and quite burdened by pragmatism, the LC has not sufficiently succeeded in raising the capability of its organizations and organs to be considerably more active and direct in the political system of socialist self-management, in the way we have declared it since the 10th congress. Nor should we underestimate the fact that recently there have been many demands for a reversal toward the commanding role of the party, accompanied by a strong dose of dogmatic conservatism. We do not wish to work and cannot work in old ways; we also know why not. The fact is, Brigic said, we have still not learned to work in a new way and we lack the necessary boldness to undertake more resolutely new steps toward realizing the social role and position of the LCY, as we have clearly established and developed it at the 11th LCY Congress.

[Passage omitted] In continuing his report, Brigic devoted special attention to the ideopolitical and action unity of the LCY. He said that the situation in the LCY with respect to unity of action and the sense of responsibility toward this unity is by no means at the level demanded by social conditions. The implementation of adopted stands and decisions is very slow and displays many vacillations, and a lack of resoluteness and consistency, while the respect to some big questions and problems there are ideological hesitations, and even an explicit lack of unity.

We must resolutely confront the practice that leads to the situation whereby certain sections of disunited LCY, that is, their organs, work according to "their own ideas" and insist [on acting] "on their own," as if they were infallible, or did not bear any responsibility toward other sections of the LCY and toward the LCY as a whole.

Present practice and behavior in certain sections of the LCY and their leadership indicate that there is still not sufficient readiness to jointly clear up and solve the problems on the basis of mutual understanding of the needs and interests of everybody individually, always beginning from the unanimously established policy at the congress. [passage omitted]

In the struggle against those still uneliminated causes of the federalization of the LCY and for its strengthening as a united organization, the LC must at the same time, he stressed, confront the other dangers: the trend of the unitarist-centralist concept of developing the unity of the LCY, of returning to the old methods of activity, the mechanical, decree-based unity, and bureaucratic discipline without democracy.

The strengthening of responsibility for the realization of the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress is the key question today. On the eve and at the very congress, we realized that there was a widespread practice of not implementing the adopted decisions -- though these decisions were reached through a democratic and self-managing way -- mostly because personal, group, and pratical interests block the view of the totality. The congress stands contain the basis and obligation to change such a situation.

The LC must carry out a more resolute regouping of its ranks, rid itself of all those who undermine its prestige and ideological unity and weaken its action capability. However, differentiation is taking place very slowly, which can be illustrated by the fact that out of a total number of all those who left the LCY on various pretexts, in the first 6 months of this year only 13.8 of them were expelled, and, among them, the highest number were those who were expelled for not implementing elementary statutory obligations.

Therefore, the question must be raised of the responsibility of those organizations and organs of the LC who have an opportunistic attitude toward their obligation. Of course, we do not need any campaign or purge; rather we need a gathering and differentiation of action. At the same time, the LCY should open doors to all those people who excel in the struggle for economic stabilization and socialist self-management to strengthen its ranks, especially through the admission of young producers and creators, so that in this way it would strengthen its class influence of the worker on the policy of the LCY. The essential thing in further development of the LCY is the democratization of the internal party relations and the strengthening of the role of the member and basic organization of the LC, as the basic subjects of developing and realizing the policy and stands of the LCY, since only with fundamental change of the position of the member and the basic organization can a change in the overall action of the LC be ensured. [passage omitted]

In training the membership and basic organization of the LC for revolutionary action, an indispensable role is played by all the organs of the LC, especially by municipal committees. Therefore, it is necessary to make a critical assessment of the realization of the role and responsibility of the LC leadership in the realization of the congress decisions and tasks, especially the quality, clarity, and feasibility of their programs and activities on realizing the necessary ideopolitical and organizational prerequisites for the real mobilization of the membership and basic organizations.

However, in spite of increased demands, we have not dealt sufficiently with the work methods of municipal committees, nor have we offered these committees, the necessary support. Many of them has remained torn between increasing initiatives and criticisms from basic organizations and, at the same time, increasingly numerous demands by higher organs, including this Central Committee.

Continuing his speech, Brigic stressed the significance of the change in methods and content of work of the LC, and even of the LCY Central Committee, since, as he said, the basic activities of the LC organs still take the form of sessions and adoption of numerous and often generalized conclusions, which has not had any essential effect on greater mobilization of membership and basic organizations of the LC. Discussions, even in the highest organs of the LC, often resemble those at consultations and symposiums. The LC organs cannot be debating clubs; rather, they should be operative and action leaderships which react in a timely manner to the most topical ideological and political problems in society. Such work methods are to a good extent the reason for slow coordination in the entire LCY. Therefore, we should find out, Brigic said, why some topical ideological and political questions, which we all discuss and about which we know our differences, are not put on the agenda more quickly and why stands on them are not taken on time. [passage omitted]

The Presidium, as the executive and political organ of the LCY Central Committee, should better organize work on initiating concrete actions for a more consistent realization of the conclusions and stands of the LCY Central Committee; regularly monitor their realization and in a timely manner inform the Central Committee about the way its stands and conclusions are being implemented, and propose what should be undertaken in cases of their not being implemented or in the event of opposition.

This question is even more topical because we all know that even after the 13th LCY Congress there have been instances of contradictory behavior, that is, the failure to implement the unanimously established policy and the conclusions of this Central Committee and its Presidium, both by certain organs and their members, and by certain Communists occupying responsible social functions in the republics, provinces and the federation. At the same time, no discussions on this have been started in the LC organs, nor has the question of responsibility been raised. Therefore, it is necessary that in the LCY Central Committee and in other LC organs we develop a work method that will ensure that the stands and decisions of the LCY, in accordance with the principles of democratic centralism, are consistently implemented, or that, following the established democratic procedure, they are developed or amended. Tolerating the lack of responsibility in implementing the established policy would only further undermine the unity and prestige of the entire LCY. Our Central Committee, as the highest-ranking organ of the LCY, has great responsibility to ensure united action of the entire LCY on the consistent implementation of the established policy, and, therefore, it must resolutely react to all the manifestations of the lack of unity and vacillation, and to vacillation and opportunism in any organ or section of the LCY.

Today the Communists of Yugoslavia bear the greatest responsibility for our society's speediest way out of the economic and development crisis and for society's more stable development on the bases of socialist self-management. I am convinced that the LCY can and must affirm itself as the leading ideological and political force in the present and by no means easy social situation. for this, it is necessary to be better organized and rely more on the high awareness and creative abilities of the working class and all other creative forces of society, said Ivan Brigic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium.

[Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian at 0942 GMT on 25 December transmits a service message correcting the above paragraph as follows:

["The tasks that were formulated by the 13th LCY Congress demand firemness and unity and presuppose consistency and creativity in their development and application, as well synchronized social and political action, primarily in basic organizations of associated labor and work organizations, in local communities, and in municipalities, but also at all levels of the delegate system and our political organization. The LC leadership must lead both with the clarity and concrete form of its policy, and in the consistent manner of implementing it, stressed Ivan Brigic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium."]

25 Dec Proceedings

LD261150 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian 0844 GMT 25 Dec 86

["LCY Central Committee Session: Proceedings" -- TANJUG headline]

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 25 Dec (TANJUG) -- At today's session, members of the LCY Central Committee assessed the ideopolitical and action capability of the LC in realizing the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress. The reason why the highest-ranking party forum is analyzing the fulfillment of the adopted stands only 6 months after the congress lies in the fact that all indicators point to a lack of the expected resolute, united, and efficient action of Communists at all levels. Today's session also represents the beginning of a change in the LC's method of work that had been announced form some time -- a constant review of the way in which and the extent to which the established policy is being implemented.

The introductory report on this item of the agenda was submitted by Ivan Brigic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium. Among the ranks of the Army, the 13th congress met wth approval and moderate optimism. Simeon Buncic, the first participant in the discussion, said that the membership is asking what guarantees there are that the decisions of the 13th Congress will be realized. All that is happening after the congress, he added, only confirms the justifiability of this question.

Pointing out that the LCY Central Committee has the greatest responsibility and that it is expected to do the most in this area, Buncic made several proposals to improve the work methods of the LCY Central Committee and its activity. The Central Committee, Buncic said, should ensure more direct communication with the working class, and, in preparing sessions, should reflect the authentic views of its members. At the same time, the authenticity of the stands and decisions of the Central Committee, rather than adopting those of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, must be insisted on. Some sessions could also be held with fewer and introductory reports. [passage omitted]

According to Hamdija Pozderac, a way out of the present situation is not possible without a detailed Marxist analysis of what has happened in Yugoslavia over the past 10 years -- that is, without a precise identification of the forces that persistently oppose the implementstion of the strategic orientation of Yugoslav Communists. For too long we have been saying, Pozderac said , that resistance is coming from "statists, bureaucratic, and other forces," without having an exact analysis of what they represent and what devices they are using to oppose our strategic goals. [passage omitted]

Pointing out that the working people are demanding the LC's more resolute involvement in overcoming social difficulties, Pozderac asked why certain organizations are politicizing the goals of the 13th LCY Congress even before they started to implement them. He said that some of the reasons lay in the silent agreement with the practice of one-sided politicization of partial interests, some of which certainly could not be called self-management! Trends to legalize such interests are dangerous: First, they occur within a "narrow sociopolitical community," and then follows their legalization and promotion in the Yugoslav area, he added.

This endangers the foundations of the national policy of the LC, while everything that Yugoslav Communists won in this area is being turned into elements that compromise its policy. [sentence as received]

The LC should not have a liberal attitude toward such phenomena because the practice of negating the self-managing character of the verification of interests looks more like the tactics of lobbyists rather than the mature behavior of Communists. These trends create an arena for nationalist and chauvinist forces whose ultimate objective is to return to the time when power in Yugoslavia was divided in the name of national interests. Some LC members, Pozderac stressed, sometimes believe that they will be better fighters for socialism if they are greater supporters of national causes, so that the impression is being created that no nation in this country gained anything in the national war of liberation and the revolution.

Pozderac emphasized that the theoretical thinking of the LC constantly suffered from limitations that blunted its critical analysis of the causes of social crises. Commenting that in the all-party debate on the proposed conclusions of the 13th LCY Central Committee that the work priorities had been clearly defined, Pozderac asked: Who in this situation wishes to impose a multitude of unanswered questions on society? In the name of democracy, today everything is open to discussion, he said, which is confirmed by discussions on civilians doing military service as civilians, the youth relay baton, alternative movements, the national anthem, flags, and other similar issues.

Commenting on the politicization of relations in society in connection with constitutional changes, Pozderac said that under the conditions that had been created, it is difficult to conduct a reasonable discussion, though it is necessary. This could perhaps explain the big influence inside and outside the LC by those assessments that point out that the main reason for the present crisis lies in the inadequacy of strategic goals. Pozderac spoke in favor of a critical attitude if we do not want to repeat old mistakes and respond to the crisis with short-term solutions. If we do not do this, it will be done by the writers of various "memorandums," who have the most obscure pretensions, Pozderac concluded.

[Passage ommitted] Narandza Jovanov criticized the fact that the stance formulated in a draft document prepared for the session had not been defined in more specific terms. The draft document states that there is evidence of a lack of unity in the behavior of the LC members and some organs with regard to the implementation of the 13th LCY Congress resolutions on the realization of the constitutional concept of the Yugoslav Federation. It is no good, she added, if we all assume that this is somebody else's concern.

Narandza Jovanov expressed dissatisfaction with the situation in the SR of Serbia which, as she put it, could not be allowed to continue if the republic's functions were not to be jeopardized. Support must, therefore, be given to changes in the Constitution as a basis for the further development of relations in the SR of Serbia and as an instrument of implementing its constitutional role in the federation.

In Hrvoje Istuk's view, from the whole set of tasks, the LC, that is, the LCY Central Committee, should opt for a number of key issues whose resolution would facilitate the fulfillment of its strategic goals and commitments. This is necessary, he said, for at the moment the LC is not capable of coping with such a wide range of issues as envisaged by the 13th LCY Congress.

Before these issues are singled out, however, it is necessary to determine the level of the LC's capability to carry out its social and political roles. In other words, he specified, the question is not what we are like, but, are we up to our tasks? This means that we must assess, in a realistic and comprehensive way, the extent to which the LC organizations and leaders are aware of the fact that the LCY is definitely committed to the development of socialist self-management. The reasons for such an analysis lie, according to Istuk, in the fact that there still exist differing views as to the LC's leading role in society. Some see it as the classic case of a party in power, while others look upon it as optional social democracy.

In this context, he questioned the view to the effect that "the party must not be the party of the state, nor must the state be the state of the party. It is true, he said, that the party must not be the party of the state; the state, however, must be the state of the party as the state is a creation of our revolution for which the LCY bears both everyday and historical responsibility . To illustrate this claim about the disregard for established policies, he noted that many Communists in the assemblies do not adhere to the party's clearly defined policy about flags without being called to account.

The constant repetition of appeals and big words, which not only can be counterproductive but discrediting, must be replaced by a genuine change in the method and substance of our work, which implies the need for the LC to adjust itself to the ramified nature of our political system, Hrvoje Istuk said.

[Passage omitted] According to Milan Pancevski, one of the causes of inefficiency within the LC is the practice of promoting narrow and partial interest, the practice with which the LC is often uncritically identified. In this context, he stressed the LCY Central Committee's responsibility as a factor of cohesion and as the initiator of a united action within the LCY. In all our future actions we must proceed from the real and not assumed unity and responsibility, as we have often done thus far, Milan Pancevski said.

[Passage omitted] Speaking about the work on changes in the Constitution, Vidoje Zarkovic said that it is proceeding slowly and is meeting with some resistance and, at the same time, with excessive insistence by sociopolitical communities for their own statehood and sovereignty. Tendencies toward a consensus democracy, which imply that controversial issues should not be discussed, are steadily gaining ground. In his view, the LCY Central Committee as well as the central and provincial committees should insist that the work on changes in the constitutional and political system be treated as the most important task, and that in carrying it out, efforts should be made to harmonize the stance on sensitive issues. [passage omitted]

We do not hesitate, Vinko Hafner said, to mention the economic crisis; less often do we refer to the social crisis. But, when it comes to admitting to a serious ideological and moral crisis within the LC itself, that we find a bit more difficult. I am sure, he added, that this is not an issue of a crisis in the LC's overall ideology. This is, primarily, a crisis affecting the activity of the LC and its efficiency within society.

The question is, Hafner said, who in the LC is responsible for the emergence of the crisis and who should get us out of it? It would be wrong to blame the party grass roots, that is 2.1 million members or 70,000 basic organizations. It would be as absurd as if we were to blame the working class and the country's working people for the crisis. In other words, a crisis in our or any other communist movement does not originate in the party rank and file, but among its leaders and organs. In our case, this refers to 540 municipal and town committees and, above all, to the LCY Central Committee, together with the republican and provincial committees. In other words, LC leaders must be the first to be rid of ideological disunity, the lack of class awareness inertia, and opportunism. It would not lake long for this to have a positive effect on the conduct of the party grass roots.

Hafner went on to note the need for specifying who it was that has not devalued and diluted the stance of the LCY Central Committee: It is primarily us, its members. Then come the republican and provincial committees in which we exercise the same rights and duties as their members and with which, in our political activity, we are directly linked.

Let us begin with the work of our Presidium which, as an executive-political organ, carries particular responsibility for both our own work and our cooperation with the republican and provincial committees and, to a large extent, for the work of Communists at the most responsible posts in the federal organs. The members of the Presidium should also assess their ideological and action unity and establish if that is where the seeds of disunity are and what is happening in the republican and provincial committees, in the LC committee, in the Yugoslav People's Army and in their presidiums. [passage omitted]

Speaking about the still present attempts to federalize the LCY, Hafner said that a certain degree of federalization with the LCY was an objective fact stemming from the very character of the Yugoslav state community. This inevitably has an effect on internal relations, organization and the method of work within the LCY. This is borne out by the existence of separate LC's in the republics and provinces and is reflected in the way members of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium are being nominated and elected.

However, the truly negative aspect of the federalizaton of the LCY, according to Hafner, originates from statism and bureaucratic and nationalist aspirations within it, which weakens its ideological unity, social efficiency, and irreplaceable integrational role. It is his belief that through awareness and knowlegde, the Communists could rise above narrow, personal, partial, and local interests. The state of awareness of the majority of Communists and, above all, of the leading cadres, though, does not correspond to this requirement. This situation must be changed if we are to be more efficient in our opposition to the negative tendencies toward more federalization within the LCY.

In this context, Hafner critically assessed the relationship of the republican and provincal committees with the LCY Central Committee. He considers these leaderships morally diluted and, in practice, rather hypocritical in their attitude to the federal bodies. On the one hand, they genuinely want reputable and sucessful federal organs, while on the other they are worried about the latter's eventual unitarist and centralist pressures.

In principle, we all insist that only the most capable, respected, and progressive cadres should be given jobs in the federal organs.

However, when electing these cadres it is not the requirements of the federation that are given priority. The republics and provinces, or more precisely their leading structures, see their cadres in the federation as their own representatives. As long as these people's views and decisions correspond to the interests and policies of their republics and provinces, they will enjoy the confidence and support of these leading structures. As soon as they oppose them, however, "friendly persuasion" ensures which, if unsuccessful, is followed by political disqualification and dismissal, Hafner concluded.

[Passage omitted] Sergej Kraigher suggested a discussion about the possibility of the LCY Central Committee and its Presidium becoming more open in their work. Communiques do not reveal why a session went on for several hours and why consultations lasted so long. These facts are important not only to keep the Central Committee members better informed, but also to inform the public better.

Kraigher also spoke about the inadequate analysis of past experiences in the formation of action conferences. He particularly stressed the role of the republican and provincial LC leaders in encouraging ties between Communists in those work organizations which extend to several municipalities.

The ideopolitical and action ability of basic LC organizations are the central issues in realizing the LC's role. This ability, however, is not at the desired level. Sessions of the basic LC organizations are infrequent, and there are constant problems with a quorum. The LC organs are, therefore, left to launch initiatives and make decisions, Nikola Jovanovic said.

Jovanovic went on to say that inertia, opportunism, and even open discontent are increasingly noticeable among members of the basic LC organizations. Those who leave the LC say that they do not want to attend sessions without being given the opportunity to change the situation. In the same context, he pointed to cases of disunity and differing views among the party leaders concerning issues on which there should be no differences in opinions. This creates confusion and ideological disorientation among the members.

Mihajlo Danev spoke about the great economic difficulties facing Macedonian Communists and stressed that despite considerable efforts this republic is not capable of overcoming its problems without help from the wider community.

Jospi Vrhovec stressed the need for the LC to devote more attention to the substance and the realization of its role in society and not toward society, as is often done. [sentence as received] Practice and not ossified phrases is the sole criterion of the extent to which the LC has realized its social role. In this context, Vrhovec made particular reference to the need to change the method of work, stressing that the LC frequently and unnecessarily imposed its party ideology on people already committed to fighting for the further development of self-management. At the same time, there is a lack of obligation within the LC itself to accept and implement this ideology. In my view, Vrhovec stressed, our attitude toward society is more sectarian today than it was 20 years ago when only very rarely did the Communists show so little respect for their own ideology. Let us turn the wheel a little, Vrhovec said. We do not need an ideological monopoly. We need to mobilize all progressive forces into action. If we are to achieve this, we must change the method of work. [passage omitted]

Vrhovec also referred to the question raised today: To what extent is the Presidium of the LCY Central Committee united? Precisely to what extent are the LCY Central Committee, the LCY and all its parts united?

Speaking about inefficiency in the work of the party and social activity in general, Vrhovec said that at least 30 percent of the causes of our social and economic crisis are of a subjective character; this includes inadequate unity, primarily in the LC. In Vrhovec's view, one of the ways to overcome this situation is for the LCY Central Committee Presidium to regularly inform the Central Committee about those issues over which differences arise.

While dwelling on the method of work, Vrhovec warned about the negative practice of generalizing all problems, adding that it is not in our interest to project every problem as being a national one. All problems should be properly defined, as not all problems carry the same weight of topicality for different localities, Vrhovec said. [passage omitted]

As it stands today, the LC is not capable of carrying out its commitments, Radovan Radonjic said. To illustrate this sharp assessment, he said that the reasons lie in the LC's collusion with statist structures, in the heterogenous nature of its social compositions, and in the federalization of the working class vanguard.

The LC, Radonjic claims, is deeply and sharply divided into a small nucleus of very influential political professionals who look for support among other structures, and an uninfluential rank and file whose organizations vegetate on the sidelines. Unless it overcomes statism, Radonjic said, the LC will fail to realize its role either at the present or at future stages of our development.

Drawing attention to the socioeconomic divisions within the LC, Radonjic noted that all the obstacles to unity arise from the political, ideological, and other types of pluralism within its ranks. In addition to the bureaucratic and administrative groups, a new middle stratum is emerging among the LC members which to retain its acquired positions generates opportunism in the LC. Their solutions for Yugoslavia are not base on a Marxist analysis of the situation, but on doctrinal approaches designed to defend their national sovereignty and republican integrity. The extent to which they have succeeded in controlling the working class in illustrated by the fact that, in discussions on the changes in the Constitution, attention is not concentrated on how to extend the boundaries of human freedom; instead, time is being spent on establishing precisely the purviews of the republics and provinces. Why haven't we asked the workers, Radonjic added, if they want nine disorganized, expensive, and powerless states? Because with this burden on our shoulders, we can hardly make on a single step forward.

Speaking about federalism in the LC, Radonjic stressed that efforts should be made to find solutions that are suited to the working class first and only then to the nations, republics, provinces, not vice-versa as the case has been so far. If we are doing it in this way, the question would not arise as to who refuses to implement what was agreed on; those individuals would simply be dealth with. There is not revolution, Radonjic stressed, that would not stumble on the obstacles that we are placing before ours. Ending his expose, Radonjic suggested that the LC should prepare a document assessing the situation in both the society and the LC, and proposing a program of measures to change the situation. If, after the "testing" among the members the program fails to receive a "go ahead," he said, the entire Central Committee should step down to make room for some other people from the LC.

Taking the floor after Radonjic, Stane Dolanc said that he could not agree with Radonjic's statement that in it present state the LC is not capable of overcoming the problems facing it. No society in history has achieved so much in such a short space of time as ours under the leadership of this LC.

In any case, despite the fact that the decades some have been predicting its demise, it is still active since our people have the idea of self-management and Yugoslavship, in the nicest sense of the word, deeply engraved in their consciences.

Dolanc devoted a large part of his contribution to contemporary social processes. He said that as the present-day working class is not the same as the working class of 100 years ago, the LC will be successful to the extent to which it is integrated not only with it but with the entire society. Stressing that the LC does not pay enough attention to people's free time activities, Dolanc said that this is an area where new phenomena and new social movements are emerging which the LC had failed to match successfully enough. [passage omitted]

In conclusion, Dolanc said that he does not agree with the views that nothing has changed either in the LC or in society since the 13th LCY Congress. It is wrong to think that a single congress can change anything, and, in any case, we have only had 6 months since then. People have realized that they must work toward opening our economy to the third world market. The question, though, is whether those of us in the Central Committee has realized that. [passage omitted]

Taking advantage of his right to reply, Radovan Radonjic said, in response to Stane Dolanc's statement that he does not agree with Randonjic's view that the LC as it stands today is not capable of resolving major social issues, that he would be very happy if Dolanc's statement proved to be right. I am also an optimist, but in a different way. I said that I firmly believe that our tasks outlined in the LCY programs and the resolutions of the 13th LCY Congress are in line with the historic process and the interests of our working class, and that it would be possible to carry them out even under these difficult circumstances. I have my reservations, though, as to whether the LC can do it while burdened with many different organizational problems. The LC needs changes, Radonjic said.

Despite undeniable progress since the 13th LCY Congress, we are nevertheless facing a discouraging picture in our work, Marko Lolic said. Because of the LC's historical responsiblity, we cannot simply shrug it off or hide ourselves behind the cliches about the "mistakes due to progress," mistakes which are inevitable as we move forward along the road of progress. We also cannot say that the time we have to improve the situation or to make a turnabout has been too short. In any case, our deadlines are fixed -- they are short and cannot be reset. Those movements that understand well the circumstances and requirements of the period in which they function and which are capable of altering the circumstances though an exemplary revolutionary action stand to win, Lolic stressed.

All indications are, Lolic added, that the present moment is one of mobilization designed to reverse trends both in society and the economy. This, of course, is an issue of the LCY's role as a vanguard. He suggested that an LCY conference should be held -- and an LCY statute provides for the possibility -- next autumn, perhaps, that would deal with this complex issue and with the LCY's future strategy and tactics in analyzing and implementing the main commitments of the congress. All this is necessary to gain complete insight, to call to account and to further improve, and at the same time resolve, all that is still puzzling us and all that is only hinted at as the main course of action in the congress resolution.

Milanko Renovica, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, dwelt on some remarks which had been referred to the Presidium during the discussion. During the preparations for this session, the Presidium used, as the source of its inspiration, the decisions of the congress and the broad discussion which preceded the congress.

We are aware, Renovica said, that 6 months later it is neither possible nor realistic to produce any serious analysis of the LC's ideopolitical activity. In the same way, it is not realistic to expect that after such a decisive congress resolution on these issues, a document can be passed offering something new. The resolution is both a fresh and detailed one, indicating the direction in which the ideopolitical activity should be further developed to realize the congress decisions.

However, today's discussion, which was very critical regarding certain matters, is of particular importance for the further work of the Central Committee, its bodies, and presidiums, but also for the broader activity of the entire party membership. While preparing this session, we came to a conclusion that the LC action is not yet suitable for the present-day serious complex duties we have been carrying out, added Renovica. Aware of the fact that it is no longer possible to continue with the old method of work, we attempted to bring in some fresh elements, in the sense that sessions of the LCY Central Committee are not prepared by the Presidium alone. These issues were discussed in all the central and provincial committees as well as in the LC committee in the Yugoslav People's Army.

We also proceeded from a notion that it is neither realistic nor necessary to immediately pass the stands at today's session. This means that the Central Commitee, as the top LCY organ, should say for itself how the work needs to be done and to provide political guidelines for the further work of the Presidium.

We bear in mind the fact that the method of work of the Central Committee and its Presidium and working bodies cannot be determined and defined in one single discussion, regardless of how it was prepared and to what extent we were aware of the importance of amending the old method of work. The method of work must be built continually, in action and in political life, and we must always come back to this question. For quite obvious reasons, a question was raised today, said Renovica, as to how the LCY Central Committee Presidium and its members assess the degree of political unity and how the Central Committee should be informed about it. The Presidium understands and realizes its duty that if considerable differences in the implementation of party policy occur, it must not only inform the LCY Central Committee, but it must also discuss them at its sessions. During the work at a total of 20 sessions of the Presidium, we concluded that certain differences in views do not exist, particularly in initial discussions, but that so far there were no instances of disturbing unity with regard to the fundamental questions concerning the realization of the LCY policy.

Recalling that republican provincial, and the organization of the LCY in the Yugoslav People's Army are all acting under different conditions, Renovica stressed that this caused objective differences in approach, ideas, and views, and that unity must be a result of a continual democratic dialogue, via a continual struggle of opinions. Apart from some disturbances, which arose as a result of an approach to the amendments of the SFRY Constitution, about which you had been informed, other issues were on the whole coordinated.

As far as the public is concerned, Renovica said that the work of the Central Committee is public, which is also in accordance with the Constitution. It is to be agreed how the public should be briefed on the work of the Central Committee Presidium. It is obvious that what has been done so far through statements is insufficient, incomplete, and generalized. We will try to further examine this and put it into effect in our departments.

Accepting a proposal of the LCY Central Committee that the conclusions on the ideopolitical and action level of training should be adopted at the next session, Renovica warned that these should not be a repetition of what was said in the conclusions of the 16th session.

They should, Renovica made it clear, be directed toward crucial questions regarding the consolidation of the basic socialist self-managing production relationship, the consolidation of the power of the working class and working people, the strengthening of the role of associated labor in establishing and implementing the development policy and in deciding on the income and funds of social reproduction, as well as toward the development of the political system. It is also essential to more directly intensify the activity of the LC in society as a whole and in the front of the organized socialist forces as well as to speed up the development of the process of democratization of relations in the LC.

In the process of implementing the established policy, the conclusions should, according to Renovica, reflect a need for the ideopolitical training and involvement of the membership, organizations, and organs aimed at the offensive ideological struggle for the reaffirmation and realization of the ideology and policy of the LC against the aggressive activity of antisocialist and anticommunist forces and individuals. Also, the LC should make clear the ways of intensifying the individual and collective responsibility at all the levels of the organization.

It would be good,. in Renovica's opinion, that presidiums, central and provincial committees, and the committee of the LC organizaiton in the Army analyze and assess their own activity, examine the topical questions of the ideopolitical and action level of training and take stands on further tasks which aim to consistently implement the decisions of the 13th Congress.

The draft conclusions, prepared by a working group, would be submitted to the presidiums of the central and provincial committees and the committee in the Army, as well as to corresponding commissions of the Central Committee, in order that they could, by their proposals and views, make the conclusions suitable for the present state of affairs and tasks. At the same time, this would mean a specific mobilizaion and participation of everyone in the preparation of these conclusions, Milanko Renovica said, among other things.

In the continuation of the session, it was decided that the rules of procedure on the work of the LCY be adopted at the first session next year. Meanwhile, the proposed rules of procedure, in connection with which a number of objections were raised today, will be discussed in the LCY Central Committee commissions and the leaderships of the republican and provincial LC organizations.

GEN JOVICIC INTERVIEWED ON DEVELOPMENT PLANS

LD210334 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service in Serbo-Croation 1108 GMT 20 Dec 86

[Text] Skopje, 20 Dec (TANJUG) -- Thanks to intensified ideopolitical work, great efforts by Communists and commands, many LCY Central Committee decisions and stances, and our overall efforts in developing a socialist Yugoslav consciousness and Yugoslav socialist patriotism, the Yugoslav People's Army (YPA) has succeeded in maintaining a very high level of ideological consciousness and moral strength. This enables it to affirm its role as a powerful factor for stability in our social system and a factor in outflanking any type of aggression, Colonel-General Georgije Jovicic, president of the LC Committee Presidium in the YPA and member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, stressed in an interview to Radio Skopje.

In the interview broadcast today, Jovicic added that in conditions of significant differences on a series of questions in the LC, the strengthening of antisocialist forces, nationalism, the right, and so on, it is not easy to maintain ideopolitical unity. As a result, these questions have constantly been at the center of our attention. YPA members, especially Communists in the Army, have made a significant contribution to all the actions undertaken by our society and the LCY.

He stressed that the most important achievements in the work of the Army this year were results in the modernization and development of the YPA and in the Army's moral-political unity. Jovicic stressed that his year he has initiated the current 5-year planning period of the development and modernization of the UPA. In acknowledgement of economic difficulties in society, some plans for development and the provision of technical equipment have been revised.

Speaking about the stabilization program and the YPA contribution to the implementation of the long-term program of economic stabilization and the effects of stabilization measures in the Army are being implemented continuously and in a planned way. Thanks to the measures taken, we expect that this year direct savings will be over 5 percent of the total funds available to the YPA this year. This is an increase of about two percent compared to the preceding period. Considerable savings are being achieved in military industry by the production of armaments and military equipment at lower prices than that of other industrial products in the country. In the field of training, the JNA trains and returns to the economy several thousand badly needed cadres every year. This is a fact with which our public is already acquainted by having heard reports by the federal secretary for national defense.

Assessing the period after the 13th LCY Congress and the activity of party organizations in the YPA, Col Gen Jovicic stressed that Communists in the Army are united in their assessment that the 13th congress fulfilled their expectations. Readiness has been expressed to become directly involved in implementing the stances and decisions adopted at the congress. There are numerous examples of positive action, exceptional responsibility, and the devotion of Communists and other YPA members in carrying out their everyday tasks.

Col Gen Jovicic said, among other things, that in he YPA a determined request has been made to make political action more fruitful and to prevent the phenomenon of passivity, inertness and irresponsible behavior. It is expected of Communists that they are militant in resolving set tasks.

FEC DECREES RISE IN PRICE OF GASOLINE

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[Text] Belgrade, December 25 (TANJUG) -- The Yugoslav Federal Executive Council this evening decided to raise the prices of petrol as of tomorrow by an average 23.7 percent. The price of 86-octain petrol will be raised by 24.3 percent, and the price of 98-octaine petrol by 23.1 percent. The price of diesel fuel will also be raised by 21.5 percent. By the government decision, prices of refinery oil derivatives will also be raised by 8.2 percent. The decision to raise the prices of petrol, diesel fuel and oil derivatives was explained by the increased refining costs and expenditure for covering the exchange rate differences for oil imports.